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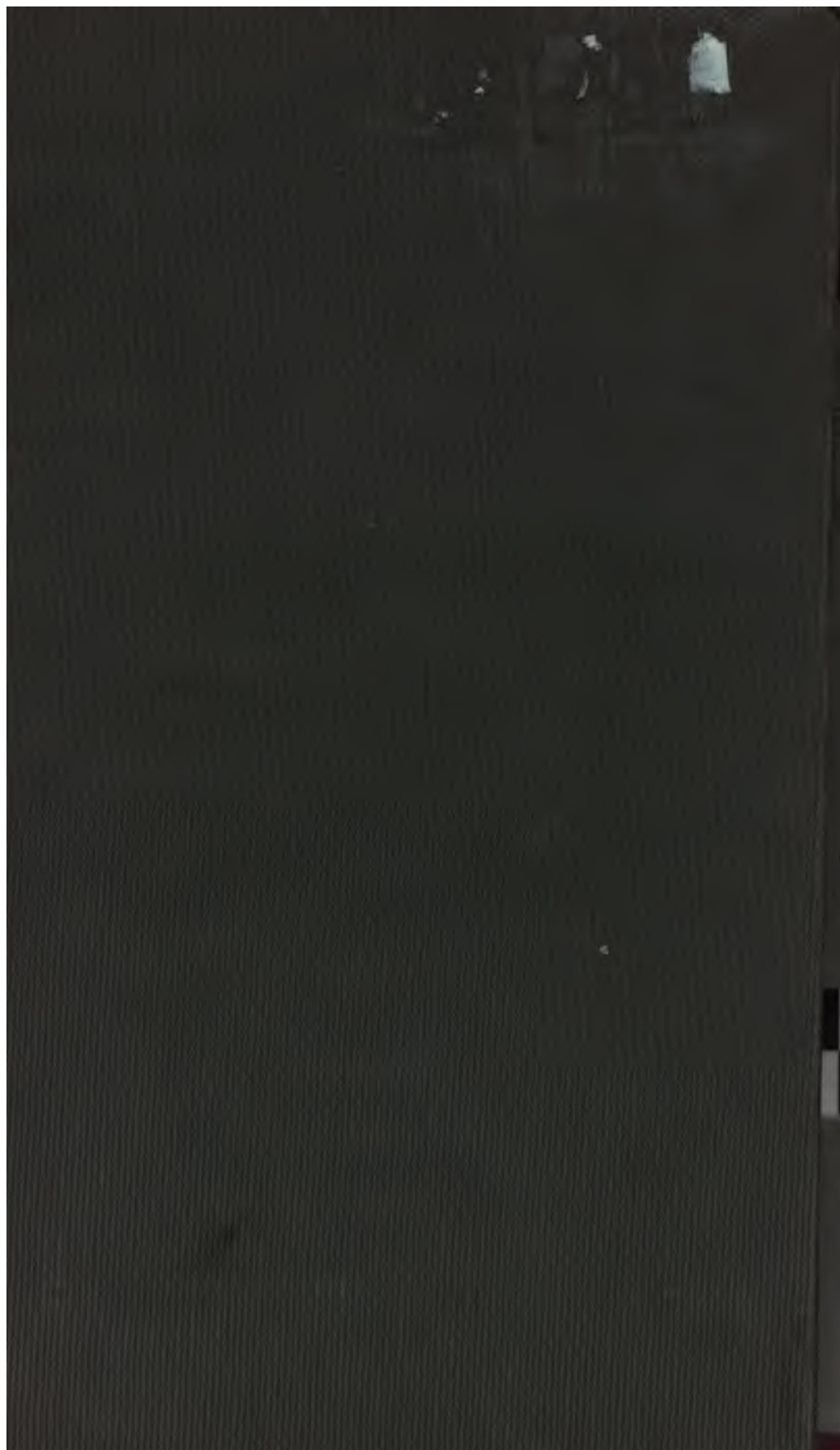
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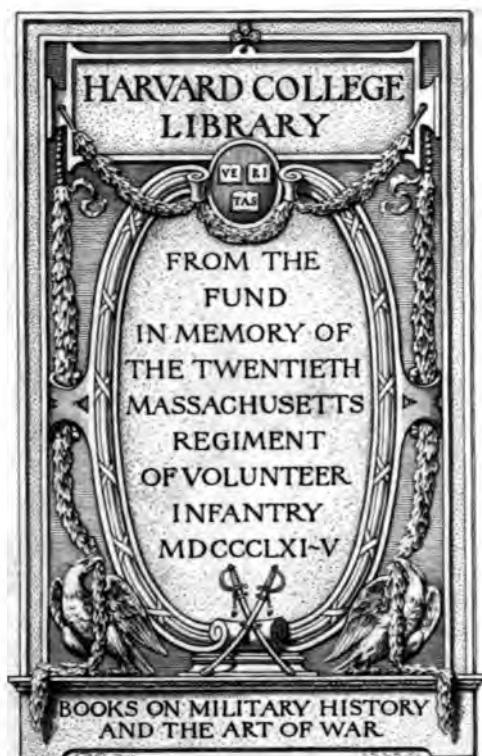
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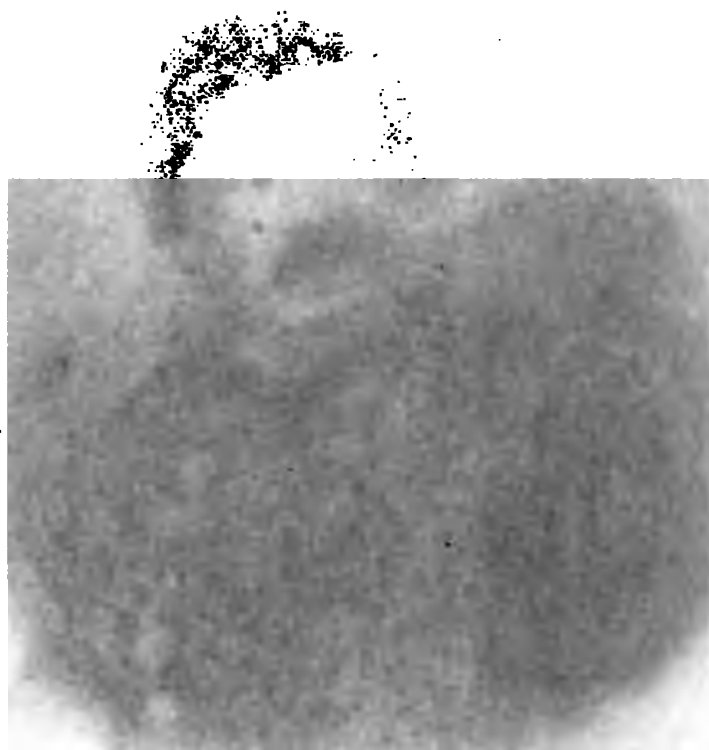


*Amos Merrill*

AMOS MERRILL

Army of the Republic

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC



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# HISTORY

OF THE

## OLD SECOND DIVISION,

### *Army of the Cumberland.*

COMMANDERS:

M'COOK, SILL, AND JOHNSON.

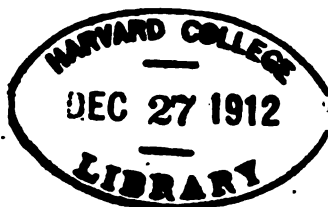
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BY WM. SUMNER DODGE.

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CHICAGO:  
CHURCH & GOODMAN,  
51 La Salle Street.  
1864.

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*Gift of  
The Twentieth Regiment*

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1884, by  
WILLIAM SUMNER DODGE,  
in the Clerk's office of the District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

Stereotyped by  
JOHN CONAHAN.  
Chicago Type Foundry.

12-1-31

TO

**Captain William S. Wood,**

OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY.

**MY DEAR SIR:**

Permit me to connect your name with this book, inasmuch as you, more than any other of my friends, manifested a sincere interest in its completion, and generously contributed your means towards its publication, even when it was doubtful if it could be successfully consummated. You have been to me all that friend could be.

Believe me, dear sir,

Faithfully yours,

WM. SUMNER DODGE.





## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE favor with which the "HISTORY OF THE SECOND DIVISION" was received has encouraged me to issue a Second Edition.

A few words seem necessary to explain my purpose in writing a work of this character. It was undertaken at the written request of nearly every officer in that Division. The motive which chiefly inspired me to write it was, that it might be cherished by the gallant soldiers and friends of that noble command, as a truthful history of their struggles, during the time which it embraces, in the great work of crushing this rebellion.

A further motive emboldened me to the task. Careful students of American history have ever regretted the meagreness with which the minutæ of the battles of the Revolution have been described. This is owing, in a great extent, to the fact that the details of movements were but imperfectly presented in official reports, and that many of those were lost in their transmission: therefore, the persons who have narrated the stormy events of those times, when they undertook to picture battle scenes, have been compelled in a measure to confine themselves to vague flights of fancy, instead of to facts—mere arrays of sounding phrases, in place of minute and accurate descriptions of battles and of the performances of the actors; and it is evident from the manner in which the present histories of the Rebellion are written, that the future student and reader will labor under the same disadvantage. To remedy this evil, and to do the brave men who sacrifice so much to promote the national cause, that justice to which they are entitled, I, although a novice in historical or literary composition, essayed to contribute my humble mite, so far as the Division of the army with which I was connected is concerned; therefore, when it ceased to exist as an organization, it was proper its history should be written.

The materials for this book were gathered from the official records of the army, embracing the army headquarters, corps, division, brigade, regimental and company records. Many officers and soldiers of different

commands were consulted also: besides, I was myself a participant in what I write. My information, derived from these sources, has been carefully weighed, and truthfully presented, according to my ability. It could not be much condensed without injustice to the subject, and I deemed it better to throw full light on these prominent points of its history—its battle scenes—that the future historian might have ample material to cull from. And here I may be permitted to say, that although I was a participant in the events of the history, still I have endeavored to write in a spirit of candor and good faith. What I have done has been the result of careful and earnest preparation; and now I leave it to the honest judgment of the reader how far and how well I have succeeded. Among the many friends who have kindly lent me aid in the successful completion of my work, I cannot forbear to mention J. A. Smith, D. D., of the Chicago "Christian Times," for his careful reading of my manuscript, and correction of faults and inaccuracies. His scholarship and critical knowledge of our language were of great service to me, and most cheerfully accorded.

I lay no claim to literary ability. It was never my ambition or expectation to write a book, particularly a work of historical merit. Circumstances which I could not well resist forced me to the task. While it is special as a history of the SECOND DIVISION, it is also general as to the delineation of campaigns, the movements of troops, and plans of battles—in its descriptions of country, people and institutions. Finally, if it shall serve to incite more capable men to record the career of other Divisions, thus swelling the contribution of solid ARMY LITERATURE, and if it fills its place on that broad basis, upon which some Bancroft or Hildreth shall yet rear the grand superstructure of our national history in this great crisis of life or death, my highest aspirations will have been realized, and I shall feel that my humble labors have not been for naught.

WILLIAM SUMNER DODGE.

CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 20, 1864.

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## CHAPTER I.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN THE FALL OF 1860 AND THE SPRING OF 1861.

SEVENTY-THREE years of prosperous and happy life, under the Constitution of 1787, had stamped the idea upon the great American heart that we were a *nation*. The union of States formed by that Constitution was recognized as the powerful guardian of the security and prosperity of thirty-four independent sovereignties. These, to enjoy more fully the rights they had acquired as a free people, merged their own existence into that of the greater sovereignty, the grand Federation of States, under the endearing name of country. Nor was it believed probable, even possible, whatever might be the passions and prejudices of the hour, engendered by political strife, that any set of men could successfully organize a plot to destroy the National Government. Love of country was the paramount emotion of our people. *E Pluribus Unum* was stamped upon the




national coin, the national commerce, the national industry, the national territory, and the national heart.

But, notwithstanding the loyalty of the people, there was a certain class of politicians who had, since 1830, been making constant efforts, by argument and subtle discussion, to estrange the popular mind from its belief in a paramount allegiance to the National Government, and to inculcate in its stead the heretical doctrine of superior obligation to the State, its sovereignty and its rights. Under the specious guise of "*State Sovereignty*," the right of "Nullification" was advocated; but this was practically crushed by the stern action of Andrew Jackson, in 1832. In later years it assumed the form of "*peaceable secession*." This doctrine, fallacious in *principle*, supported by arguments and statements false in *fact*, was steadily advocated to the people of the South by its ambitious politicians and party tricksters. Nor was it without friends in the North; but here it was of much less moment. The people, educated under the system of free schools and a free press, possessed sufficient stamina of character to determine for themselves the nature of the conflict, and to affix to it the seal of approval or condemnation.

In the South it was otherwise. There, free schools were unknown. The public press, too, was stifled in its utterance, and almost shorn of its rightful power. The great rule of morals, applicable as well to the affairs of the State as to the individual, could not be

proclaimed. Even the pulpit was rendered subservient to the politicians, and became the mighty herald of more falsehood than truth. The Southern people, thus deprived of the educational lever, free schools, and deriving their knowledge of political affairs only from a prostituted press, and their religious instruction only from a debased and trammelled ministry, were duped into the belief of these doctrines, which finally have ended in this gigantic, revolutionary outbreak. Nor even in this did the leaders find an easy task. It was only by precipitate action, astounding from its extent and daring—completely shocking the conscience of the people, and appalling them with fear, followed by appeals to passion, pride, epithets of hatred and disgust against the people of the North—characterizing them as barbarians and mercenaries, seeking to upbuild themselves while they denounced, crippled, and aimed to destroy the institutions of the South, that they succeeded in the diabolical attempt to subvert the Government under which they had so long lived, and which had been faithful to all its constitutional obligations, and create a Confederacy founded upon the cardinal principle of “Secession,”—not a *principle*, but a *doctrine*, as fatal to them as to us; for, once recognized and put in practice, it will go on and on indefinitely, until States will secede from the Confederacy, counties from States, and towns from counties, and at last the sad spectacle be presented of denationalization—aye, of a total disruption of all political and even social




ties, and anarchy sweep over all like the hurricane over the sea, involving all in common ruin.

South Carolina, as in 1832, led the conspiracy. On the 6th of November, 1860, came the election of rulers for the nation for the ensuing term. The Republican party proved successful in the contest. The struggle had been spirited—in fact, one of unprecedented interest and excitement. Principles and policies of great moment to the American people hinged upon the verdict of the people at the ballot-box that day. The three great parties of the country, those of controlling sentiment, had announced their principles and policy in party platforms, accepted by their respective nominees, and heralded to the nation by its party press and its party orators. There was nothing wrong in the fact of the election. It was held in accordance with a provision of the National Constitution, and the candidates chosen were elected in the manner prescribed by it.

The Republican party, though successful in the election, did not assume the control of governmental affairs until the 4th of March, 1861. Nevertheless, the South, especially South Carolina, waited for no *overt* act of the incoming administration against the interests and institutions of the South, whereby they might justify revolution, but resolved upon a speedy if not immediate overthrow of the Government.

On the 30th of November, the year previous to the national election, a member of the South Carolina Legislature offered a resolution that that "Common-



wealth was ready to enter, together with other slaveholding States, or such as desire prompt action, *into the formation of a Southern Confederacy.*" This resolution, by a vote of the Legislature, was sent by the Governor of that State to all the Governors of the other slaveholding States. Close upon this action, and in furtherance of it, Mr. Memminger, a leading politician of that State, was sent to Richmond, Virginia, with certain delegated powers, as a commissioner, to ascertain the opinions of that State with respect to the formation of a Southern Confederacy. Mr. Memminger was received by the authorities of Virginia with all the distinguished consideration accorded to a foreign minister, and at once delivered a speech to the Legislature of Virginia, in which he argued that the present Constitution of the United States was inadequate to the protection of the South; that slavery must have new guarantees for its security; that the South must be a unit in demanding these guarantees; and if they were not accorded by the North, the Union must be dissolved. Both the resolution and the speech were received favorably. They were considered as an exposition and declaration of the views of the South, and as such were to be acted upon in the event of further hostility to slavery.

This course of South Carolina excited considerable comment throughout the country, but no serious apprehension was felt that evil would result from it. It was regarded as the *furor* of a few Southern

ultraists who had thus vented their passion. However, events have since proved it made a deep and lasting impression, and aided materially in the subsequent inauguration of open and armed rebellion.

Congress met as usual, upon the first Monday of December, 1860; and shortly after John C. Breckinridge, then Vice-President, announced to the Senate that Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin had been *constitutionally* elected President and Vice-President of the United States. This official announcement of the election soon spread through all the States. The Legislature of South Carolina was in session at the time, and as soon as the official announcement of the election was known, a bill was introduced and passed, calling a State Convention, to meet at Columbia, the capital, on the 17th of December, to prepare the State for secession.

The South was now ablaze. From all the other Southern States came continued expressions of sympathy and encouragement to press on the holy cause of Southern Rights. South Carolina, thus encouraged, became frantic in its madness. "The sun of Southern Independence has arisen!" exclaimed the people, "and now farewell to a fraternity with the abolition hordes of the North!"

The 17th of December came, and with it the meeting of the State Convention which was to resolve South Carolina out of the Union. On the 20th instant it adopted an ordinance of secession. Thus South Carolina led the disunion host. This act was

positive—its power commanding. It was the forerunner of open revolt—of that direful, civil, internecine strife which now deluges our country in blood.

The ordinance of secession was in the following words :

“WE, the people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States, is hereby dissolved.”

Having passed the ordinance of secession, the Convention then framed its Declaration of Independence, setting forth the cause which impelled the State to a separation from the General Government. Nor did the labors of the Convention end here. It issued an address to the other slaveholding States, inviting them to join their fortunes with South Carolina in the formation of a Southern Confederacy. It was very elaborate and full of sophism. Its conclusion was in these words :

“South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of A GREAT SLAVEHOLDING CONFEDERACY—stretching its arms over territory larger than any power Europe possesses—with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British Empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it—with

common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter, we ask your sympathy and confederation. All we demand is to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important, among the nations of the world. United together, and we require no other instrument to conquer a peace than our beneficent productions. United together, and we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. We ask you to join us in forming a Confederacy of *Slaveholding States*."

This address was published in nearly all, if not all, the newspapers of the South. It did much towards rushing the people into the vortex of rebellion.

Florida went also. Her Governor telegraphed to the Governor of South Carolina that "Florida was with the gallant Palmetto flag." Its State Convention passed the ordinance of secession on the 7th of January, 1861.

Mississippi followed with rapid strides. Her Legislature also called a Convention to consider whether her duty called her to an alliance with her Southern sisters. The Convention met on the 7th day of January, 1861, and on the 9th day of January the deed was consummated. It was passed by a vote of 89 for to 15 against it.

Alabama was another star that veered from its orbit in the national galaxy and plunged into the chaos of rebellion. Its State Convention met on the 7th of January, 1861, and on the 11th passed the act of final separation.



Georgia followed closely in the wake of Alabama. The Legislature met and appropriated one million dollars to arm and equip the State, and place it on a war basis. It also ordered a Convention to meet at Milledgeville, the capital, to consider the propriety of secession. The election of delegates to the State Convention was held on the 4th day of January, 1861, and it assembled on the 16th of the same month. Three days after the meeting of the Convention the State of Georgia declared her separation from the National Government by a vote of 208 in favor to 89 against it.

Louisiana also drifted rapidly into the jaws of rebellion. The Legislature ordered a State Convention, although it met with strong opposition; but this opposition was speedily crushed out, and on the 26th of January, 1861, she declared herself absolved from all allegiance to the Federal Government.

Texas, for whose independence the United States had expended much treasure and blood, and whose entire frontier was guarded by Federal soldiers, sustained by the General Government, also hastened to join her Southern sisters. Governor Sam Houston opposed the movement, refused to convene the Legislature, and published a very able address to the people. Large and enthusiastic mass meetings were held in different parts of the State, and the Union sentiment appeared overwhelming. But the revolutionists pressed on, and left nothing undone that could insure their success. Their efforts were mighty



for evil. The wheel of revolution rolled on, crushing every opinion that rose in opposition to it. Finally, Governor Houston, "not to thwart the will of the people," as he expressed it, convened the Legislature in extra session, at Austin, on the 22d day of January, 1861. The Legislature ordered a State Convention. It assembled on the 28th day of January, and on the 1st day of February passed an ordinance of secession. Thus Texas became virtually out of the Union. On the 4th of March a State Convention formally declared that fact.

The rebellion had now assumed frightful proportions. During President Buchanan's administration, and within the short space of two months, *eight* of the slaveholding States had renounced their allegiance to the Federal Government, a convention of delegates from six of the seceded States had assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and in four days recognized a Provisional Government, elected Jefferson Davis as its President and Alexander Stephens as its Vice-President, and on the 18th of February, 1861, they had been installed in office, amid imposing ceremonies and a gorgeous pageant seldom equalled in a kingly coronation;—the machinery of that Government was well in motion in all its departments, and seemed rapidly to be assuming dignity as a nation, while its recognition abroad was speedily expected.

While the Southern Congress was in session, organizing a Confederate Government, a Peace Convention

was being held in Washington at the call of Virginia, to devise some means, if possible, to settle the national troubles, and once more restore unity and brotherly love throughout the land. It assembled on the 4th day of February, 1861, and was composed of men of distinguished talents and name. They were from all the loyal States: not a delegate was present from any of the seceded States. After a session of twenty-two days it ended its labors, and on the 27th day of February it submitted to the Senate a plan of adjustment of the national difficulties, involving seven amendments to the Federal Constitution.

After ample discussion in Congress it was considered as futile to attempt a reconciliation, as the seceded States bound themselves to recognize nothing coming from the Federal Government, and therefore refused to submit the propositions to the people. Thus the earnest efforts of the Peace Congress proved in vain.

On the 4th of March, 1861, the nation changed its rulers. James Buchanan retired, and Abraham Lincoln assumed the administration of the National Government. The interest of the nation was intense, both North and South. The people of the North awaited with anxious solicitude the publication of his Inaugural Address, for in that they were to know the fate of the nation—whether its dignity, its rights and power would be upheld and vindicated, or the Southern Oligarchy be permitted to *subjugate* its

power, humiliate its flag, and forever destroy the existence of the great American Republic.

The Inaugural was received with joy by the mass of the people at the North. At the South it was accepted as a *declaration of war*. The policy of both Governments now rapidly assumed shape, and preparations were made for war. The object which was to bring on the iron storm loomed up heavily in the political horizon. That object was Fort Sumter. Every day proved that the rebels of South Carolina intended to capture the fort. They had erected batteries on Morris and James Islands, on Stono Inlet and Cummings Point—all looking to the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and a repulse of all Federal attempts either to reinforce or retake it.

Finally, after too long pursuing a halting policy, which looked much like connivance at treason, President Buchanan, aroused to a sense of duty by the murmur of the loyal people, decided to reinforce the fort. Accordingly, on the 5th of January, 1861, the steamer *Star of the West*, chartered by the Government, left the city of New York with two hundred and fifty troops, their ammunition and accoutrements, and started for Fort Sumter. On the morning of the 9th day of January, as she slowly steamed up the bay, a masked battery on Morris Island opened fire upon her. *There and then was fired the first gun in this fearful life and death struggle for national existence.* The "Star-spangled Banner" was floating over the steamer. She continued on her course some ten

minutes, the batteries belching forth their shot, flame and smoke, when it was found impossible to execute the order, as it was necessary to pass close under the guns of the battery on the island, also near Fort Moultrie, ere she could make for Sumter. Captain McGowan, the officer in charge, turned her down the channel and returned to New York. Fort Sumter was doomed. On the 11th of April General Beauregard demanded of Major Anderson its surrender. The major replied that his sense of honor and his obligation to his country prevented his compliance with it. Other correspondence followed during the night of the 11th of April, but unsatisfactory to the rebel authorities. Major Anderson remained loyal to the "old flag," and evinced so strong a determination to maintain it that it was resolved to reduce the fort. Hardly had the first gray of dawn, on the 12th day of April, revealed Sumter, ere a shell was thrown from a battery on James Island, which burst directly over the works.

The die was now cast. Civil war was now inaugurated. Fort Sumter fell on the 13th of April, after a terrific bombardment of thirty-four hours. This was the commencement of the grand tragedy speedily to follow,—one which filled the European powers with awe and dread—one which, perhaps, is destined to revolutionize the world.

On the 15th day of April, 1861, President Lincoln called by proclamation for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the insurrection; he also called

an extra session of the National Congress, to convene on the coming 4th of July. The very next day the Confederate Government issued a call for thirty-two thousand volunteers, which, with their former force, equalled that of our Government. These troops were rapidly equipped and put into the field. Departments were organized and generals commissioned and assigned commands. Washington was the rallying point of Northern soldiery.

Meantime the secession frenzy became epidemic. The most strenuous exertions were made to precipitate Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas out of the Union into the Gehenna of rebellion. Delaware was first and foremost for the Union. Maryland first wavered, then rallied her patriotic energies and stood firm. Virginia failed to withstand the pressure, and yielded all her ancient honor and glory in one moment of maddened delirium. Her State Convention in secret session passed an ordinance of secession on the 17th day of April, and on the 25th of the same month Governor Letcher by *proclamation* transferred that commonwealth to the Southern Confederacy. But to this act there was opposition: there was an ineradicable difference of opinion between the people of the cismontane and transmontane districts of the State. The transmontane or western portion was loyal. They considered the National Constitution and the Union as their only hope of safety. A convention of Union delegates from thirty-five counties

assembled at Wheeling on the 13th day of May, and on the 17th day of June following declared their independence of the eastern portion of the State. An ordinance was passed creating a Provisional Government, and providing for a legislature, judiciary and State officers. As such it was recognized at Washington, and Senators and Representatives were admitted to represent the "good old commonwealth" on the floors of Congress. Thus was saved an important element of power to the National Government.

Arkansas, under the lead of her Governor, Henry M. Rector, soon became an element of strength to the rebel cause. On the 22d day of April, 1861, he directed the depot of United States stores at Napoleon, on the Mississippi, to be seized and appropriated to the use of the State; and on the 24th of the same month, Colonel Solon Borland, formerly a Senator of the United States, with a force of Arkansas troops seized Fort Smith, a work of much importance and guarded by United States soldiers. On the 6th of May the Legislature of that State passed an unconditional ordinance of secession by a vote of 69 to 1.

Gigantic efforts were made to turn Missouri from her allegiance. Her Governor proved recreant to his trust, and did all in his power to force the State into the cause of the revolutionists; but the majority of the people proved true, and through the exertions of leading Union men it was saved.

North Carolina, too, had long premeditated secession. Upon the President's call for volunteers the Governor replied, "You can get no troops from North Carolina." Forts Caswell and Johnson, and the arsenal at Fayetteville, were seized by his authority—the latter containing thirty-seven thousand stand of arms, three thousand kegs of powder, and a large quantity of shot and shell. The Governor convened the Legislature, a State Convention was called, thirty thousand men were ordered to be enrolled for the defence of the State; and, finally, to consummate her part in the grand drama, on the 20th day of May passed an ordinance of secession, also an ordinance adopting the Confederate States Constitution. Thus, at one step, in one act, she dissolved one union and entered another.

Tennessee was more conservative. Her Governor, Isham G. Harris, was a thorough disunionist. His power, therefore, was great, and so far as he could he lent it to bolster the Confederate cause. His response to President Lincoln's call for volunteers was characteristic of the man: "Not a man," said he, "will Tennessee furnish for the purpose of coercion; but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of the rights of our Southern brothers!"

The Legislature met soon after. The Governor's Message was strong for disunion, and recommended the perfecting of an ordinance by the General Assembly, formally declaring the State of Tennessee independent of the Federal Union, renouncing its

authority, and re-assuming each and every function belonging to a separate sovereignty.

The Legislature heeded the recommendation. It passed a resolution authorizing him to enter into a military alliance with the Confederate Government. Commissioners were appointed by both Governments. They met, consulted together, and the whole military power of Tennessee was placed under the control of the President of the Confederate States. The military was placed above the civil power, and Tennessee was no longer free. A "Declaration of Independence," and an ordinance dissolving the Federal relation between the State of Tennessee and the United States of America, also an ordinance for the adoption of the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, were submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection. The election was held on the 8th of June, 1861. Bayonets glistened around the ballot-box in doubtful localities, for the secessionists were predetermined to carry the State, and considered it all-important that the force of fifty-five thousand men, ordered to be raised by an act of the Legislature, should be in the field previous to the day of election. Twenty-five thousand were, and they constituted a powerful argument *for secession*. The State was decided to be in favor of secession by forty thousand majority. Much of this majority, however, was spurious. The great mass of the people of East Tennessee, like those of Western Virginia, were loyal; but owing to the energy of the rebel President, and



his policy of throwing a heavy force of troops into that section, it was unable to pursue the course of Western Virginia in the organization of a Provisional Government.

Such is a brief history of the progress of the rebellion. Eleven States have renounced their allegiance to the Government of our fathers—a Government the most noble and generous ever founded by human wisdom—a Government guaranteeing freedom and happiness to all its people—a Government which had become first and foremost among the nations of the earth,—and united their fortunes together under a new Government, whose corner-stone was declared by Alexander H. Stephens, its Vice-President, in a speech delivered to the citizens of Savannah, Georgia, to be founded “*upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition.*” He further says: “This, our new Government, is the *first in the history of the world* based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth.”


In support of this Government, founded thus, they have appealed to the God of Battles to witness the *justice* of their cause. God is just, and he will decide who shall be successful in this mighty arbitrament of contending hosts: the Union, with its precious burden of liberty, human rights and glorious hopes—its principles of true democracy, representation of the people without distinction of rank or birth, and

*equality before the law*; or the Confederacy, an oligarchical combination, constituting a mighty propaganda based upon HUMAN SLAVERY, and boldly demanding recognition under the law of nations, upon this great evil alone—an evil, aye, a CRIME over which the angels of heaven might weep tears of blood! But justice will be done. "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*"

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY.

KENTUCKY alone remains to be considered. During March, 1861, her position was truly loyal. No efforts of the secessionists could secure a call for a State Convention. She gave no countenance to any scheme which looked to a settlement of national difficulties by a withdrawal from the Union, but asserted positively that she preferred to remain *in* the Union. Her Governor, Magoffin, assumed the right to propose the State for "co-operation," should a call to arms become the *dernier* resort. But the people heeded the counsels of Holt, Prentice, Prall, Rousseau and others, faithful guardians of her best interests, and stood firm for the Union amid all the vicissitudes of strife. Her position was indeed trying. The enemies of the Government practiced every dodge possible to be applied to swerve the people from their allegiance, or precipitate them against their will into the cause of the South. Early in March a secret



circular was signed by several politicians of the State and disseminated among the people, calling upon them to organize "State-Rights Clubs," all the members of which were to sign the following formula :

"We, the undersigned, believing that the dissolution of the Union is a fact, and that Kentucky must take her choice between the North and South, agree to form an association for the purpose of maintaining Southern rights, and placing Kentucky in her proper position with the South."

The signers of this circular also called upon the people to name delegates to a State Convention which should assemble at Frankfort, the capital, on the 20th day of March, 1861. This Convention never assembled.

The loyalists, the leaders, tried to place the State on "neutral" ground. The President's call for Kentucky's quota of troops caused great excitement throughout the State. All were anxious to learn how the Governor would answer it. It was not then known how strong the secession element was. The response soon came, and mantled the cheek of every loyal man with shame. It was a flagrant insult thrown directly into the face of the National Executive, and was as follows :

FRANKFORT, APRIL 16, 1861.

HONORABLE SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War :

Your dispatch is received. In answer I say, emphatically, that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States.

B. MAGOFFIN, Governor of Kentucky.

On the 18th of May a monster Union meeting was held in Louisville, which was addressed by ex-Secre-

tary Guthrie, the Honorable Archie Dixon, Judge Nicholas, Judge Brown, and the Honorable J. Y. Brown; but, although loyal, they shrank from a true conception of the proper position of the State, and proclaimed the siren doctrine of "neutrality,"—a policy which at once placed Kentucky upon the offensive and defensive. On the same day Governor Magoffin issued a proclamation convening the Legislature on the 28th of May, 1861. On the 3d day of May the Governor ordered an election for members of Congress to be held on the 1st of July. On the 4th of May the election of delegates to the Border State Convention was held, and the result was an overwhelming Union majority—a majority of fifty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty votes. This election was held agreeably to an invitation of the Virginia Legislature in March, for a Border State Convention to meet in Frankfort, Kentucky, on the 20th day of May. It proved a failure. Only four other States appointed delegates—Arkansas, Missouri, Virginia and Delaware.

The Legislature of Kentucky met on the 28th of April, in extra session, pursuant to the proclamation. The Governor delivered his Message. It breathed disloyalty to the Government. His views were not adopted by the Legislature, but the policy of an "armed neutrality" was at once instituted.

Two days after the Legislature convened the Governor issued his proclamation of neutrality, and after reciting certain facts, declared:



“Now, therefore, I hereby notify and warn all other States, separate or united, especially the United and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein, for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the Legislative and Executive authorities. I especially forbid all citizens of Kentucky, whether incorporated in the State Guard or otherwise, making any hostile demonstrations against any of the aforesaid sovereignties, to be obedient to the orders of lawful authorities, to remain quietly and peaceably at home, when off military duty, and refrain from all words and acts likely to provoke a collision, and so otherwise conduct that the deplorable calamity of invasion may be averted; but, meanwhile, make prompt and efficient preparation to assume the paramount and supreme law of self-defence, and strictly of self-defence alone.”

The proclamation was not long respected. Arrangements were already perfected for the enrollment of Kentucky's full quota of troops under the President's call, which Major Anderson was to lead; and on the 22d day of May the Legislature, by a test vote, refused to accept the Governor's proclamation of “neutrality” as a “true exponent of the views of the people,” and the position it should assume towards the National Government. This virtually killed the doctrine of “neutrality.” A bill introduced into the House for the appropriation of five millions of dollars, to arm the State, was defeated in the Senate. The State Militia Law was amended so as to compel the State Guard to take the oath of allegiance both to the National and State Governments.

That day Mr. Rousseau made a speech in the

Senate, in favor of immediate and active co-operation with the General Government in putting down the rebellion. He was eloquent and to the point. He comprehended the magnitude of affairs, and the true method of grappling the difficulty. He said:

"Behold the results of secession! Distress and ruin stare men in the face. Strong men, honest and industrious men, cannot get bread for their wives and children. The widow and the orphan, helpless and destitute, are starving. In all the large cities the suffering is intense. Work is not to be obtained, and those who live by their labor get no money. Property of every description has depreciated until it is almost worthless. In the seceded States Union men are driven penniless from their homes, or hanged; and all this, that 'peaceful secession' may go on, and that politicians may fill offices!—and after you, gentlemen, bring all these calamities upon us, you falsely say that 'Lincoln did it!' and that we, Union men, are abolitionists, and aid him! I tell you that Lincoln has *not* done it. He was elected President by *your* help. You ran a candidate for the Presidency, that the Democratic party might be divided and Lincoln elected. That was your *purpose*, and you accomplished it; and now you have elected Lincoln thus, you must break up the Government because he is elected! This is your programme—deny it who can!

"South Carolina was irritated at the presence of Major Anderson and fifty-five men at Fort Sumter—so irritated that she could not bear it. She tried to starve him to death; she tried to knock his head off and burn him up; she bombarded the people's fort, shot into the flag of our Government, and drove our soldiers from the place. It was not Mr. Lincoln's fort—not his flag, nor his soldiers, but ours. Yet, after all these outrages and atrocities, South Carolina comes with embraces for us, saying: 'Well, we tried, we intended, to kill that brother Kentuckian of yours—tried to storm him, knock his brains out, and burn him up. Don't you love us for it? Won't you fight with us and for us, and help us overthrow your Government?' Was ever a request so outrageously unnatural—so degrading to our patriotism? And yet, Mr. Speaker, there were

those among us who rejoiced at the result, and termed the assault upon their own fort, and the capture of their own flag and their own soldiers, a *heroic victory*!

"Mr. Speaker,—I am sick and tired of all this gabble about irritation over the exercise by others of their undoubted right; and I say once for all to you, secession gentlemen, that we, Union men, know our rights and intend to maintain them. If you get irritated about it, why—get irritated! Snuff and snort yourselves into a rage—go into spasms, if you will—die if you want to, and can't stand it—who cares? What right have you to get irritated because we claim equal rights and equality with you? We are for peace; we desire no war, and deprecate collision. All we ask is peace. We don't intend you any harm. We don't want to hurt you, and don't intend you shall injure us if we can help it. We beg of you to let us live in peace under the good old Government of our fathers. We only ask that."

And again:

"When Kentucky goes down it will be in blood!—let that be remembered. She will not go as other States have gone. Let the responsibility rest on you, where it belongs. It is all your work, and whatever happens will be your work. We have more right to defend our Government than you have to overturn it. Many of us are sworn to support it. Let our good Union brethren at the South stand their ground. I know that many patriotic hearts in the seceded States still beat warmly for the old Union—the old flag. The time will come when we shall all be together again. The politicians are having their day; the *people* will yet have theirs. I have an abiding confidence in the *right*, and I know this secession movement is all wrong. There is, in fact, not a single substantial reason for it. If there is I should be glad to hear of it. Our Government has never oppressed us with a feather's weight. The direst oppression alone could justify what has brought all our present suffering upon us. May God, in his mercy, save our glorious Republic!"

And further, the Senate, on the 24th of May, the last day of the session, passed resolutions declaring



that "Kentucky will not sever connection from the National Government, nor take up arms for either belligerent party, but arm herself for the preservation of peace within her borders, and tendering their services as mediators to effect a just and honorable peace." The lower house of the Kentucky Legislature was strong in its secession element. On a test vote there were forty-nine Unionists to forty-three Secessionists. The safety of Kentucky consisted in the fact, that for once the Unionists were united, while the Secessionists were divided. There were other outside influences which materially contributed to her safety.

Dr. Breckenridge, in an address delivered in Cincinnati, on the 20th day of May, 1862, stated that "it was the proximity of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the fidelity of the people of the latter States, upon which these men depended—of your people and the other two States, that saved Kentucky. The question was flatly asked by General Boyle, of the army, then a private citizen of Kentucky, 'Will you have twelve thousand men ready the moment we ask for them?' It was flatly asked of the Governors of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and the reply was that they would sustain them; and I suppose I may add, that Mr. Lincoln was telegraphed, asking whether he would assist them, and he said, 'With my whole power.' Mr. Boyle telegraphed to Governor Dennison for ten thousand men at call. He replied, 'You can have them.' He also asked for ten thousand

from Indiana and Illinois, and the reply was the same. This was the salvation of Kentucky."


This speech is flattering to the North, and is true to some extent. The secret of Kentucky's salvation, however, rested in this: the moral grandeur of the coming contest rekindled in the heart of every true patriot the indomitable courage of her sons displayed at Buena Vista, and jealous of her olden fame, she rallied to the standard of the Union, and with her "Home Guards" and State militia (the nucleus of a grand army) she confronted both internal and external foes, and happily, under the leadership of the gallant Rousseau, on the 17th of September wrested victory from the hands of an advancing and confident enemy. From that day Kentucky was secure to the Union.

On the 31st of May Judge Joseph Holt, then in Washington, addressed a letter to J. F. Speed, Esq., a loyal citizen of Kentucky, in which he ably considered the policy of the General Government, Kentucky's relations to the Government, and her true position in the present national emergency. It gave crushing blows to treason, proved that it was destructive to all good, vindicated the course of the administration, and asserted its right to send troops *through* or *occupy* the soil of any State, in order to put down rebellion, condemned in terms of great severity the "neutrality" which her statesmen were forcing upon her, declared it could not be maintained, adjured them no longer to take counsel of their fears, but arouse

at once to a comprehension of their true duty, and give a hearty co-operation to the efforts of the Government in crushing the great conspiracy against its life. This letter was published extensively throughout the State, and was quite an important lever in moulding a fervent, active Union sentiment among the people.

Kentucky's "neutrality" was not long regarded. Colonel Prentiss, the commandant at Cairo, Illinois, having been informed that there was a camp of disloyalists some five miles inland in Kentucky, quickly dispatched two companies to break it up. They accomplished their object on the night of the 5th of June. This was the first Federal *invasion*. It soon reached the ears of the Kentucky authorities, and a protest followed. This, too, was disregarded. Colonel Prentiss at once informed the protestants that it was the duty of the Government to protect its citizens at all times, that he should do it whenever solicited, and that he was amenable only to the Federal Government for his acts.

The 1st of July came, and the election of members of Congress resulted in an official Union majority of fifty-five thousand three hundred and seventy. The Governor still adhered to his "neutrality" doctrine, but the people only partially sustained him. It was evident his sympathies were all with the South, and consequently his actions were closely watched, lest by some sudden movement, some hidden press-policy, he should precipitate the State into the hands of the



disunion power, as Governor Harris had done with Tennessee.


Meantime, Lovell H. Rousseau, who had taken so firm a stand in the Senate in behalf of the Union, proved his devotion by enlisting in the cause as a soldier of his country. Early in June, 1861, he avowed his determination to raise troops in Kentucky for its defence. He felt that her position must no longer be weak and vacillating, but positive and decisive. Consultation with friends only resulted in distrust as to the success of the undertaking. All declared their fears, and doubted his individual safety, while some boldly denounced it as Kentucky's ruin. Unawed, however, by the adverse and deprecatory opinions of his friends, and fully determined to carry out his high purpose, he proceeded to Washington, to obtain leave to recruit a command and take it into the field.

While on his journey to the national capital he called upon General McClellan, then commanding the forces in Western Virginia, presented the subject for his consideration, and sought to obtain his approval and influence in behalf of the enterprise. He considered that the immediate enlistment of troops in Kentucky was her only surety of permanence in the Union; that in the seething sea of opposite opinions, tumultuous passions and clashing interests, she would be drifted speedily and irretrievably upon the one side or the other. To secure her to the Union and the cause of the Constitution was the dearest object

of his heart—the acme of his ambition. He proceeded with all speed to plead the cause and urge the granting of his request. But in this he was not without opposition. Simon B. Buckner had preceded him. Buckner had been honored by the Legislature with the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Kentucky Militia. He was closeted with General McClellan during an entire night, urging the adoption of Governor Magoffin's neutrality proclamation, asserting that this policy and prudence were the only means whereby Kentucky could be saved from the vortex of rebellion. The result of this interview is perhaps unknown, save to the favored few, aiders and abettors in Buckner's plans. That his counsel had its influence in the action of the national authorities, and in the planning of the early summer campaign, admits of no doubt, for it was not until the August following that President Lincoln announced his purpose of discarding the State "neutrality."

Meantime Buckner returned to the State, and under cover of the delusive guise he had so steadily and energetically advocated, consummated the crowning act of his treachery and bad faith by attempting forcibly to precipitate her into the Gehenna of treason and revolution.

Nor was this the only opposition to be encountered. While in Cincinnati he also conversed with Major John J. Key, an officer of General McClellan's staff, and stated to him the object of his mission. Key denounced the idea, and declared that if this




course was pursued Kentucky was doomed, and forever ! and to make his denunciation the more effectual, he avowed his purpose of going to Washington and opposing him to the bitter end. He was one of that class of politicians who did not believe in energetic measures for crushing the rebellion ; but preferred to prolong the war for years, that the people might tire of Republican rule, and at the next national election, make a change in administration, and then end the war under Democratic auspices, by a compromise which should ensure the protection of slavery, even if its preservation required an express provision in the National Constitution. For the utterance of this opinion he was subsequently dismissed the service by order of the President.

Major Key, as bearer of dispatches from General McClellan to the War Department, at once obtained a hearing, and he eagerly improved the opportunity to execute his threat. What could be done at the War Office he did to prejudice those civil and military functionaries against the institution of any measure or campaign which should tend to viciate the policy of "armed neutrality" established by the Kentucky Legislature. Soon after, in an interview with President Lincoln, he adverted to the coming visit of Mr. Rousseau, the object of it, and proceeded to give what he considered a true statement of Kentucky's position, the feelings of the Legislature and the leading men of the State, the sentiments of the people, and declared them all opposed, firmly and bitterly,

to Rousseau's measures, which, if adopted, he said, would bring "the horrors of a bloody war" upon "a people now peaceful and happy!"—that the safety of the State, perhaps of the Union, demanded the condemnation of his project and its destruction in the bud.

Rousseau called upon the President in due time. He was received with great kindness, and at once made known the object of his coming. His Excellency replied that he had already that morning conversed with a gentleman from Kentucky (Key) in relation to her true position, and desired that nothing should be done hastily or rashly. Rousseau replied that he would not ask him to mention that gentleman's name, nor state the case he had presented, but that he had seen Mr. Key on leaving Cincinnati, and he had told him he should *oppose* him to the bitter end; that Mr. Key was not properly from Kentucky, but Ohio; that he would submit to his Excellency whether he, a resident of the State and an active participator in its legislative councils, was not as fully familiar with its affairs as Mr. Key possibly could be; that in his honest opinion Mr. Key was wrong in his impressions; that it was not the policy which should be pursued; that if the doctrine of "neutrality" was fostered and recognized by the War Department, it was virtually recognizing Kentucky's fall, for if sanctioned, the great object of the secessionists would be gained, and ere long, silently and rapidly, she would be surrendered to the Confederate authorities, and



the Confederate forces occupy her soil; that to save the State only one course could be pursued—to discard the neutrality scheme, give the Kentuckians to understand they must be either *for* or *against* the National Government; that they must stand openly, actively and perpetually on the side of the Union, or wholly on the side of the revolutionists; that the Government could not accept of a middle ground and hollow-hearted friendship; that to secure her to the Union the loyalists must be strengthened in their devotion, and the rebels in arms and their sympathizers intimidated by the presence of an adequate military force, armed and equipped, and well supplied with the muniments of war; *that Kentucky would furnish with alacrity such a force*; and that justice to her and the General Government demanded that the right to raise troops on her soil, for her own and the nation's defence, be conceded *at once*, otherwise all was lost.

These were bold words, and boldly uttered. They were food for earnest reflection. The President desired time for further consideration. This was a good omen. The seeds of success were sown, and only awaited the period of fruition. Rousseau was active in the meantime. Secretaries Chase and Cameron fully sustained his views, and gave all the power of their influence in his support, urging that he be commissioned at once, and empowered to raise troops. In a few days the honorable Secretaries, on their own responsibility, ordered a commission as colonel to be



issued him, with authority to raise two regiments of volunteer troops.

Rousseau then called to tell the President good-by, bearing in his hand the official document to raise troops. Mr. Lincoln, thinking he had come to renew his application, made an endorsement upon a letter which he bore, to the effect that when Mr. Guthrie and five or six others of *Louisville* should say it was proper to enlist troops in Kentucky, the authority should be granted him. Rousseau replied that this endorsement would not do, and for precisely the same reasons he had urged before, for the neutrals could take no decided stand in this matter;—they were already pledged to neutrality, and dare not violate their promise. He then presented to Mr. Lincoln the commission and authority he had received from the Secretary of War. He carefully examined it, and on returning it remarked that the War Department having taken this course, no further action upon his part was necessary, and for the present he should abide its judgment.

The question of Kentucky's neutrality was indeed a perplexing one. Her most eminent statesmen favored it as being her only ground of safety, thereby keeping her aloof from the bloody arbitrament of arms destined soon to take place—not wishing the State to be the battle-ground of contending hosts; and further, however vain the hope, it was thought that by pursuing this policy Kentucky might yet act as mediator in our national difficulties, and once more

restore peace to the land. Governed by this principle, it is not difficult to understand why the statesmen of the Crittenden school were so reluctant to place the State on a *war footing* in behalf of the Union. Thus, however much the President might wish to see energetic measures adopted in and by Kentucky, it could not fail to be a source of anxiety to him, whether, amidst such wide differences of opinion, varying from the most ultra conservatism to the most fiery radicalism, any policy looking to an armed intervention or a military occupation of her soil could be proposed, with any prospect of securing the sympathy and approbation of her people. Would it strengthen the bond of Union, or widen the breach of dissolution?—that was the question. Kentucky had been eminent in council, and surely the views of her statesmen at this juncture were entitled to serious consideration. The rapid march of events soon proved that the counsels of the war Unionists must prevail: prudential reasons compelled it.

When the War Department issued Rousseau his commission, with power to raise troops in Kentucky, the die was cast—whether for good or evil, time only could determine. At that hour the course of the National Government was defined. Virtually it was this: “The Government is threatened with dismemberment; as Chief Magistrate of the nation, it is my duty to defend its unity; your State constitutes an integral part of this unity; your sister States of the North are striving to save it; our cause is your

cause—our battles are your battles; rally your sons to the standard of our armies, that our victories may be your triumphs also.”

Rousseau returned to Kentucky, and prepared to enter upon the dangerous task of rallying soldiery to the defence of the “old flag.”

Before he engaged in this arduous duty a *secret meeting* was held in Louisville, composed of many of the leading politicians of the State, including James Guthrie, Garret Davis, Samuel Lusk, Dudley, Boyle, Bramlette, Morgan Vance, John H. Ward, Colonel Hawkins, Joshua F. Speed, E. H. Grover, C. D. Pennybaker, and others, at the instance of James Speed, Esq., an eminent citizen of that State and an unconditional Unionist, who wished Rousseau's effort to raise troops *endorsed*, thereby to give it greater character and stronger *significance* throughout the State. Rousseau was present. He would not submit the question whether he should *raise* the forces or not, but whether he should encamp them within the borders of the State or not. Nearly every member of the meeting refused to endorse this policy, and bitterly opposed it. James Speed, of Louisville, Samuel Lusk, of Garrard county, Morgan Vance, of Mercer county, and John H. Ward, of Warren county, were the only men who supported him in this measure. Lusk, in reply to the declaration made by many, that troops could not be raised, said: “CAN'T RAISE TWO REGIMENTS TO FIGHT FOR THE ‘OLD FLAG!’—RAISE THIRTY!!” Rousseau made

a strong speech, in which he announced his purpose of going on with his project. Subsequent events prove that he did.

Rousseau, undismayed by the result of this meeting, entered actively upon the duty of his commission. For a long time it was not believed he was raising any force whatever, and the *Louisville Journal* very strongly and emphatically denied it more than a month after he had really commenced the work. But an undertaking like his could not long proceed unobserved, nor did he seek to conceal it. Distrust soon settled upon him. Public opinion, unhappily controlled by men of too conservative a nature, hurled its ban of indignation against him, and virtually outlawed him as a felon. Nowhere was he safe. Mob violence threatened him by day—assassination by night. Most of those who had personally been his friends deserted him, or timidly stood aloof, fearful of being branded as sympathizers in his movements. Such was the condition of affairs at Louisville in the summer of 1861. The lofty and determined patriotism of an American citizen, earnest in his efforts to vindicate his country's cause, was denounced as the mad ambition of an enthusiast and the precursor of an unholy strife!

His courage, however, was unabated, and success attended him. Hundreds of Kentuckians flocked to his standard. His first regiment was rapidly filled, and was called the "Louisville Legion," in honor of the city which furnished it. This was followed by a

regiment of cavalry (the Second Kentucky), and a battery, afterwards designated as "Battery A, First Kentucky Artillery."

Rousseau established his camp at the Falls of the Ohio. Here was his school of instruction. Here he labored with all the energy he possessed to render his command worthy the sacrifice it had cost—worthy the city and the State, whose leading men now looked upon his course with evident fear and distrust, and who were striving by every means within their power to check and crush him. But secret conclaves, vindictory resolutions, rowdy bluster and threats of personal violence intimidated him not in the least. His soul was in the cause, of which he stood forth the avowed champion, and which placed him above the fear of popular clamor or individual assault. He patiently awaited the time when the tide should turn in his favor, and his enemies hide their heads for shame at the manner in which they had condemned him.

While the unqualified Unionists of Kentucky were sustaining the General Government by all the means in their power, the Governor was enforcing the neutrality scheme of the Legislature. The State Guards were organized, and placed under the command of General Simon B. Buckner, who was known to favor the Confederate cause; yet he was to repel the Confederate and Federal forces alike!

On the 19th of August the Governor addressed President Lincoln as follows:



COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
FRANKFORT, AUGUST 19, 1861. }

*To His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States :*

SIR,—From the commencement of the unhappy hostilities now pending in this country, the people of Kentucky have indicated an earnest desire and purpose, as far as lay in their power, while maintaining their original political status, to do nothing by which to involve themselves in the war. Up to this time they have succeeded in securing to themselves and to the State peace and tranquillity as the fruits of the policy they adopted. My single object now is to promote the continuance of these blessings to the people of this State.

Until within a brief period the people of Kentucky were quiet and tranquil, free from domestic strife and undisturbed by internal commotion. They have resisted no law, rebelled against no authority, engaged in no revolution, but constantly proclaimed their firm determination to pursue their peaceful avocations, earnestly hoping that their own soil would be spared the presence of armed troops, and that the scene of conflict would be kept removed beyond the border of their State. By thus avoiding all occasions for the introduction of bodies of armed soldiers, and offering no provocation for the presence of military force, the people of Kentucky have sincerely striven to preserve in their State domestic peace, and avert the calamities of sanguinary engagements.

Recently a large body of soldiers have been enlisted in the United States army, and collected in military camps in the central portion of Kentucky. This movement was preceded by the active organization of companies, regiments, etc., consisting of men sworn into the United States service, under officers holding commissions from yourself. Ordnance, arms, munitions and supplies of war are being transported into the State and placed in large quantities in these camps. In a word, an army is being organized and quartered in the State, supplied with all the appliances of war, without the consent or advice of the authorities of the State, and without consultation with those most prominently known as loyal citizens. This movement now imperils that peace and tranquillity which from the beginning of our present difficulties have been the paramount desire of this

people, and which up to this time they have so secured to the State.

Within Kentucky there has been, and is likely to be, no occasion for the presence of a military force. The people are quiet and tranquil, feeling no apprehension of any occasion arising to invoke protection from the Federal arm. They have asked that their territory be left free from military occupation, and the present tranquillity of their communication left uninvaded by soldiers. They do not desire that Kentucky shall be required to supply the battle-field for the contending armies, or become the theatre of war.

Now, therefore, as Governor of the State of Kentucky, and in the name of the people I have the honor to represent, and with the single and earnest desire to avert from their peaceful homes the horrors of war, I urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within the State. If such action as is hereby urged be promptly taken, I firmly believe the peace of Kentucky will be preserved, and the horrors of a bloody war will be averted from a people now peaceful and tranquil.

B. MAGOFFIN.

The Governor accredited two commissioners to the President, by whom he sent this communication. The President refused to receive them otherwise than as private citizens. His reply bears date the 24th of August:

WASHINGTON, D. C., AUGUST 24, 1861.

*To His Excellency B. Magoffin, Governor of the State of Kentucky:*

SIR,—Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you “urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized and in camp within that State,” is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

All that I have done in the premises I have done upon the urgent solicitations of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of the majority of the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on the subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that the force should be removed beyond her limits, and with this impression I must respectfully decline to so remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search for, and cannot find in your very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Thus is presented to the world the spectacle of a Governor questioning the right of the Chief Executive of the nation to protect itself, denying its jurisdiction on Kentucky soil, its right to land troops to meet the invader of its peace, its right to quell insurrection at the most practicable point, and the right to fulfill its constitutional guarantees to all its people. If this doctrine were true, then the State authority



is superior to the national power—then “State Rights” is the true doctrine of government, and Federal authority a farce, a Utopia—then, indeed, is our Government a “rope of sand.”

## CHAPTER III.

### HISTORY OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY.

[CONTINUED.]

DURING September affairs again became critical. Secession emissaries were every where in the State, and the slave interest was powerfully appealed to as a motive to enlist in the Southern cause—that in this cause slavery was secure, while to maintain the Federal cause was its certain destruction. John C. Breckenridge threw the whole weight of his political influence in behalf of rebellion, and carried with him much of the slaveholding interest.

The Legislature assembled on the 3d of September, and on the 5th the Governor submitted his Message. It asserted the right of Kentucky to assume a neutral position; that she had no part in the formation of sectional parties in the North, nor did she approve of the secession of the Southern States at the time the act was done; that Kentucky desired to remain neutral; that her neutrality had been recently violated by both belligerent powers;

that these wrongs had been borne with patience as long as possible; that a military force had been organized, equipped and encamped in the central portion of the State, without the consent of the State authorities, and in direct violation of its determined policy. He asserted that if the *people* of Kentucky desired more troops, the Constitution of the State was sufficiently ample in its provisions to secure them. He recommended the Legislature so to amend the act of April, 1861, as to enable the Military Board to borrow a sufficient sum for the purchase of arms and munitions for the defence of the State. He also recommended the passage of resolutions requesting all military bodies not under the authority of the State to disband—that these organizations were the source of irritation, and could not fail of evil consequences.

Again the Legislature failed to adopt the Governor's views. On the 11th of September it passed a resolution directing the Governor to issue a proclamation ordering the *Confederate* troops encamped in the State to evacuate the soil of Kentucky. The vote stood 71 for to 26 against it.

The following resolutions were then introduced as a test of Kentucky's loyalty. They were justly called the "Test Resolves:"

*Resolved*, That Kentucky's peace and neutrality have been wantonly violated, her soil has been invaded, the rights of her citizens have been grossly infringed upon by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. This has been done without cause; therefore,

*Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, That the Governor be requested to call out the military force of the State, to expel and drive out the invaders.

*Resolved*, That the United States be invoked to give that aid and assistance, that protection against invasion, which is granted to each one of the States by the fourth Section of the fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States.

*Resolved*, That General Robert Anderson be, and he is hereby, requested to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in this military district.

*Resolved*, That we appeal to the people of Kentucky, by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past and by the hopes of future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of our soil.

The Assembly passed these resolutions by the emphatic vote of 68 to 26. Thus "conservatism" and "neutrality" seemed virtually ended by legislative expression.


This unexpected change of sentiment among the people crashed like a thunderbolt upon the Governor and the secession emissaries of the Confederacy. Their cause appeared hopeless, and desperation was the only game left. The Governor vetoed the resolutions on the 13th of September, but the Legislature repassed them over his veto, and thus was rung the death knell of secession in Kentucky.

It was impossible for Kentucky longer to stand aloof. She must either be *for* or *against* the Government: there was no middle ground which she could safely occupy. The invasion of her territory was rapidly going on. With the military as with

the civil power, all was *plot* and *counterplot*. Early in September the rebel forces under Major General Leonidas Polk invaded Kentucky, occupying and intrenching at Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. General Grant telegraphed this fact to the Kentucky Legislature on the 5th of September. The Legislature telegraphed in reply, that his message, as well as one from Governor Harris, of Tennessee, had been referred to a special committee. Governor Harris's message was as follows :

"The Confederate troops that landed at Hickman last night did so without my knowledge and consent, and I am confident also without the consent of the President. I have telegraphed President Davis, requesting their immediate withdrawal."

General Grant understood well the military advantage the rebel forces were gaining in their occupancy of these points; and considering military position, under the circumstances, of far more consequence than the dilatory action of a legislative committee, at once proceeded to a counter-occupancy. On the morning of the 6th of September he landed with a considerable force at Paducah, Kentucky, supported by two gunboats. He issued a proclamation, the substance of which was, that he came as a friend, not as an enemy—not to maltreat any, but to enforce the rights of all loyal citizens; that the enemy was moving upon them, and he had come to defend them, but as soon as they could successfully defend themselves he would withdraw his forces from the State.



General Polk, however, gave no signs of a withdrawal of his troops. On the 7th. of September he occupied Columbus with an increased force. His reason for so doing was the occupation of Paducah, and the fear that the Federal forces would permanently occupy that point. Nor did the invasion end here. In the eastern section of the State the rebel forces under General Zollicoffer occupied Cumberland Gap, with an advance force resting upon Kentucky soil. In this movement Zollicoffer could not plead the excuse of Polk. No Federal troops threatened Tennessee in that direction. Eastern Tennessee was proverbially Union. The occupancy of Cumberland Gap was done for arbitrary purposes—to crush out the Union sentiment in that country, to prevent all escape into Kentucky, and to thwart any attempt of Federal forces to render aid to Tennessee patriots.

Simon B. Buckner, heretofore an honored son of Kentucky, but recreant to his country in its hour of peril, fled at the passage of the "Test Resolutions" over to the lines of the enemy, and was at once commissioned a brigadier general in the rebel service, and assigned the command of a body of rebel troops at Bowling Green. Thus the central-southern frontier was invaded. Buckner also issued a proclamation which displayed much special pleading in an attempt to justify his traitorous course. He concluded by reasserting the pledges of other commanders to withdraw as soon as Kentucky would enforce her neutrality against both belligerents alike.

Meantime war's dread front grew bolder. Every where the border was menaced. Missouri, too, seemed ripe for disorganization. General Fremont had been assigned to the command of this department. He needed additional troops, and urged Rousseau to join him with his command. For some time he hesitated, but finally consented. Just as he was on the point of departure affairs assumed such an attitude in Kentucky as to change his course of action. At the same time that Buckner was seeking to excuse his treason, and issuing proclamations of neutrality to Kentuckians, he was gathering his forces at Camp Boone, on the Tennessee line, and near the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, preparatory to an invasion of Kentucky and the occupation of Louisville. This was a most daring movement on the part of the Confederate authorities, and its success would have had a great moral effect both upon the people of Kentucky and the Northern States. It would have placed the rebel front upon the south bank of the Ohio, and prepared the way for a rebel line of defence along the river, from Columbus, on the Mississippi, to the Alleghanies. It would have intimidated the Union sentiment of Kentucky, and probably have produced a counter-revolution which would have precipitated the State into the Maelstrom of secession. It would have shaken the confidence of the North in its ability to encounter and defeat the rapid and wily movements of the Confederate hosts, and raised fearful forebodings of invasion, rapine and

strife in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Happily, this campaign, which, if successful, would have given such *prestige* to the rebel arms, signally failed.

On the 17th of September Buckner seized the upward-bound passenger train, embarked his troops, cut the telegraph wires, and started for the occupation of Louisville. Everything moved favorably for him until he neared Elizabethtown, when the train was thrown from the track by the displacement of a rail. Some noble Union man, hearing of Buckner's design, had sought to thwart his purpose, and admirably succeeded. This disaster was fatal to the expedition. Night came rapidly on before the train was again ready for motion, and then Buckner's heart failed him. He was fearful his coming was known, and that inhospitable preparations were made to welcome him. Meantime Louisville was resting in terrible security, utterly ignorant of the fate which threatened and so nearly overwhelmed it. As the time drew near for the arrival of the Nashville passenger train, the citizens, as usual, gathered at the depot to welcome friends and learn the Southern news. The train failed to appear, however. Some time elapsed, and still it came not. An attempt to telegraph, to ascertain its whereabouts, disclosed the fact that the wires were cut. This was inauspicious. Suspicion of danger was at once aroused, and rumors of invasion, devastation and ruin circulated like wildfire through the city. The most intense excitement prevailed every where. ~~Union soldiers, however, were not~~



vengeance, ~~hastily crossed the river into Indiana, or~~  
~~prepared to do so at the first indication of actual~~  
danger. During the evening the truth was known:  
how Buckner had seized the train, shipped his forces,  
and arrived within *forty miles* of the city; how he  
was delayed by the accident of the rail; how other-  
wise he would have been in Louisville, and the city  
been under martial law and military control. Then  
the excitement verged towards delirium. It was  
perfectly indescribable. Unionists were disheartened  
and dismayed, while rebels and their sympathizers  
were full of joy, and made no secret of their feelings.  
The former thought their cause lost—all hope of the  
Union gone forever; the latter hailed the movement  
as the forerunner of Kentucky's independence of the  
Union and her espousal of the Southern cause.

It was evident something must be done, and done  
quickly, if Kentucky was to be saved. It was no  
time for meetings, debates, or contentions as to the  
proper course to be pursued. One thing was plain:  
the rebel leaders had belied their pretensions. While  
professing neutrality, and love for Kentuckians, and  
respect for their position, they had planned invasion,  
and, contrary to their plighted faith, made an inroad  
nearly to the northern border of the State.

This greatly incensed the unconditional Unionists,  
and aroused the "neutrality" men—those who pro-  
fessed devotion to the Union—to a sense of their  
imminent peril, and of the false position in which  
they had stood. It at once demonstrated that in a

contest involving national life there could be no such thing as *inaction*, or anything resembling it. To be neutral in such a cause, affecting the whole body politic, would involve a similar fate to all,—well exemplified in Æsop's fable of the "Stomach and Members:" death would result to both.

Rousseau was earnestly called upon to hasten to the defence of the State. Glad and anxious to prove his patriotism, in act as well as word, he moved his command through the city during the night, amidst the most tumultuous plaudits of thousands who the day before condemned and pronounced curses against him, embarked upon a train, and moved rapidly down to the Rolling Fork. The "Home Guard" of Louisville, under command of Lieutenant Colonel R. W. Johnson, of the Third Kentucky Cavalry, also participated in this expedition. The force, at most, was small; but a portion of it was thrown forward to guard Muldraugh's Hill. Here the Federal forces remained until the last of September, when they moved forward to Elizabethtown. No battle occurred at this time; but the great object of the invasion was frustrated—the border was saved from rebel occupation. Buckner, finding his movement had been discovered, and learning that a military force was in his front, advantageously posted, and resolved to contest to the bitter end his further progress, failed in heart and retreated to Bowling Green, where he intrenched himself. Thus ingloriously ended the first rebel campaign in Central Kentucky.

Altogether it was best this invasion occurred. It tested the faith of the people, and caused them to stand forth in their true light. The question at issue was then plainly presented: "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve!"

These invasions and the manifest intention of permanent occupancy roused the people, who demanded immediate and vigorous action. They hastened the formation of regiments to defend the honor of the State and nation.

General Anderson assumed command of the department of Kentucky on the 20th of September, and issued his proclamation on the 21st. The Legislature now threw off all trammels, and rallied manfully to his support. On the 25th of September the Committee on Military Affairs introduced an amended bill, calling out forty thousand volunteers, from one to three years. This bill passed the House by a vote of 67 to 13, and the Senate by a vote of 21 to 5. Thus ended the fatal doctrine of "neutrality." Kentucky now rallied to the support of the National Government, and vied with her Northern sisters in devotion to the Union. The eloquent utterances of Henry Clay now throbbed through her veins, and she vowed anew her fealty to the National Constitution.

General Rousseau's brigade already occupied a favorable position on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. The Honorable James S. Jackson had organized a regiment of cavalry, and was ready for

active duty. General Anderson's proclamation had the true ring of loyalty, and touched the honor of all loyal Kentuckians. It was as follows:

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1861.

*Kentuckians* :—Called by the Legislature of this, my native State, I hereby assume command of this department. I come to enforce, not to make, laws; and, God willing, to protect your property and your lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our State is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile force who now approaches is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence, and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God and do our duty as did our fathers.

ROBERT ANDERSON,  
Brigadier General United States Army.

General Thomas L. Crittenden, who had been appointed to the command of the State Militia, also issued the following proclamation:

TO THE MILITIA OF KENTUCKY:

By the authority which you yourselves have appointed, you are called upon to defend your State.

Misguided countrymen, whom you loved too well to fight, despite their wrongs to you, waging unnatural war, have tarnished the bright fame of Kentucky, and for the first

time since your sires bequeathed you this noble State, its soil is polluted by the tread of hostile armies.

I will not impugn the patriotism and courage of my countrymen by supposing that any appeal, however eloquent, could so rouse them to energy and prompt action as this simple statement. But to the State Guard I must add a word. Now is your opportunity to wipe out every reproach that has been put upon you. You owe it not only to your duty as men and citizens, but to that solemn obligation of soldiers which you cannot forget without dishonor, to respond at once to this call.

The State Guard will rendezvous as soon as possible at Louisville, Frankfort, Camp Dick Robinson, General Sherman's Camp, New Haven and Henderson. Come in battalions, regiments, companies, or come as individuals, and you shall be mustered into service under pay at once.

T. L. CRITTENDEN,  
Brigadier General Kentucky State Guard.

Little was done under General Anderson's administration, except to organize the forces as they came into the field. Ill health compelled him to ask to be relieved. This was done on the 7th of October, 1861, and Brigadier General W. T. Sherman assumed the command. The jurisdiction of his forces was now entitled the "Department of the Cumberland."

In October another last and desperate effort was made by the secessionists to precipitate the State into the Southern Confederacy. A conference was held at Russelville on the 28th of October, in which were delegates who claimed to represent forty counties of the State. Its sessions continued through two days, with closed doors, and finally adjourned by recommending a "Sovereignty Convention" to be held at the same place on the 18th of November. It

also recommended the organization of County Guards, to co-operate with and be paid by the Confederate States. A committee was also appointed to carry out the plans of the conference.

The "Sovereignty Convention" met at the time appointed, and a Provisional Government was at once formed, an ordinance of secession passed, a Governor and *ten* councilmen were elected *by the Convention*, not by the people, *absolute power* conferred upon them to make all laws, treaties and compacts, to control the army and the navy, to appoint all the State officers, and the council even went so far as to elect the Representatives and appoint the Senators of the State for the Congress of the Confederate States.

The Governor, George W. Johnson, was duly installed into office at Bowling Green, the temporary capital, and delivered his Inaugural. Affairs moved on swimmingly for them. They could hardly have anticipated such rapid success in the recognition of their Government.

On the 11th of December the Confederate Congress, in secret session, admitted Kentucky as a member of the Confederacy. The Representatives *elected* and *appointed* by the Governor and "Council of Ten" were declared to be received "upon an equal footing" with the Representatives of the other Southern States.

The deed is done—the tragedy ends! Never before in the history of America were such laughable and idiotic means employed to accomplish so infamous

and dangerous an act. Its authors cannot fail to become the laughing-stock of all coming time.

Such is a brief history of secession in the Southern States. It is thus given that the immense pressure of example may be seen, and that the influences against which Kentucky contended may be clearly appreciated. The ties of consanguinity, identity of slave interest, and sensitiveness upon the question of slavery, all tended to draw her irresistibly towards the South and alienate her from the North. But she heeded the voice of patriotism and national duty; and now, in the benison once bestowed upon the youthful knight, we say: "Go forth—be brave, loyal and successful."

## CHAPTER IV.


### ORGANIZATION OF THE DIVISION — ITS CHARACTER, DISCIPLINE, CLIMATIC INFLUENCE AND CAMPS.

THE national forces which had so gallantly moved forward to Kentucky's defence were under the immediate command of Brigadier General W. T. Sherman. This officer displayed great energy in organizing his troops, increasing their force, and rendering them capable of maintaining their position at Muldraugh's Hill. As yet there was no Federal army in Kentucky. Organization was the result of individual effort; and while it served well a temporary purpose, it was wholly inadequate for systematic operations. Reinforcements arrived daily. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois sent forth new regiments as rapidly as organized and equipped. The Sixth Indiana, Colonel T. T. Crittenden, and the Forty-ninth Ohio, Colonel William H. Gibson, were the first regiments of these States to rally to the rescue of Central Kentucky. The former regiment had not elected its field officers when it reported for duty at Muldraugh's Hill. Other



forces joined daily, so that by the last of September the patriot army was of respectable strength. Nor did it long remain here. On the 1st of October it pushed forward to Elizabethtown, and on the 7th instant the advance of our forces occupied Nolin. General Anderson, upon assuming command, designated his forces as the "Army of Central Kentucky." As such he labored to organize and drill it, preparatory to offensive operations.

Anderson, as the hero of Fort Sumter, had now an enviable reputation as a loyal citizen, a gallant officer and an able commander. As a reward for faithful service in the first determined assault on the national flag, President Lincoln promoted him to brigadier general, and Kentucky, by a vote of her Legislature, tendered him the command of her State forces, and requested him "to enter immediately upon the active discharge of his duties in this military district." As previously stated, he assumed command of the United States forces in Kentucky, and the country looked to him with pride and satisfaction, confident that his acts, when opportunity occurred, would prove the truth of the eloquent and inspiring words contained in his address of the 21st of September. The country was doomed to disappointment. Ill health, which incapacitated him for active field duty, compelled him to resign the position. The soldiers of his army deeply regretted this calamity, for they cherished his name with a regard akin to affection. The country, too, deplored his loss.



General W. T. Sherman, his successor, was not a stranger to the army, and his untiring activity, vigilance and courage inspired confidence in their hearts. At this date (7th of October) there was no definite military organization. All the regiments were in one body—a brigade: and upon General Sherman assuming command of all the forces, Colonel Rousseau, of the Fifth Kentucky, or, as the rebels of the State called them, the “Silver Creek Ragamuffins,” having been promoted brigadier general on the 1st of October, succeeded him. Rousseau conducted the forward movement from Elizabethtown to Nolin, a station on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and distant from the former place fifty-three miles.

Here was established “Camp Nevin.” It was named after a wealthy and violent secessionist of that town, upon whose plantation it was principally located; and here commenced the organization of that army which afterwards, under able generals, became a “tower of strength” in our country’s cause.

Under General Sherman the military district of Kentucky was entitled the “Department of the Cumberland.” On the 14th of October, 1861, Brigadier General A. McD. McCook, agreeably to Special Orders No. 51, Department Headquarters, dated the 12th of October, assumed the command of the troops at Camp Nevin and its vicinity. He at once selected and announced his staff,<sup>1</sup> and proceeded to the forma-

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1. The officers who are attached to the commander of an army.

tion of his command. To properly organize an army or a division of an army involves serious labor. It is not the work of a day: regiments must be collected and brigaded, and these brigades constitute the division. The administrative department must be filled with officers of intelligence and ability—officers quick to understand and read the will of the chief, and prompt in the execution of all duties incident to their position. It is also of the utmost importance that officers attached to the staff as aides, chief of artillery, chief of engineers, geographical and topographical engineers, be fitted for the place and capable of demonstrating that fitness in all the varying circumstances of war.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it a matter of small moment to possess the proportionate number of each *arm of the service*, in order to insure celerity, promptness and success in all movements; and more than all is the exercise of that talent which shall insure discipline and strict obedience without incurring the odium of severity or tyranny. Where officers have been regularly graduated in the different schools of instruction, they bring to bear upon the practical discharge of their duties ample and thorough theoretical knowledge; this, united with business tact and ordinary judgment, enables them to succeed in

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2. Jomini remarks that "A good staff is, more than all, indispensable to an army; for it must be regarded as the nursery where the commanding general can raise his principal supports—as a body of officers whose intelligence can aid his own. When harmony is wanting between the genius that commands and the talents of those who apply its conceptions, success cannot be sure, for the most skilful combinations are destroyed by faults in execution."

their office. But not so the generality of volunteer officers. They have left the peaceful avocations of a citizen's life, and, inspired by patriotism or love of honor, buckled on the sword to assert the national unity, ignorant of the first principles of military science; they have, therefore, every duty and every movement to learn. Meantime the exigences of the service require many of these men, unskilled as they are, to occupy high places of trust and responsibility. How important, then, that these selections be judiciously made! The reputation of a general rests upon their faithfulness. The efficiency of troops, their bearing and standing as soldiers, depend upon how well they are versed in their duties. Thorough familiarity with official business or obligations begets confidence, while ignorance as surely breeds the contrasted vice of impudence. The former commands the respect—yea, the admiration of a true soldier; the latter excites his contempt. Such is the importance of correct organization. This, however, constitutes but one species of military knowledge—the primary movements, the foundation of system, regulations, and the coherence of different elements, thoroughly subjected to the will and directing hand of the general commanding.

By the 14th of October a sufficient number of regiments were encamped at Nevin to commence the organization of brigades. This was done. Some were assigned to the command of General Rousseau, some to General T. J. Wood, and others to General

Johnson. The last named officer had been promoted from Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Kentucky Cavalry, for gallantry and efficiency in the earlier campaign of Muldraugh's Hill, upon the special recommendation of General Sherman. On the 18th of October the following order was issued :

HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DIVISION UNITED STATES ARMY. }  
CAMP NEVIN, OCTOBER 18, 1861. }

[*General Orders, No. 8.*]

The following organization of brigades in this command is hereby announced :

FOURTH BRIGADE.—Brigadier General L. H. Rousseau, commanding.

Third Kentucky Infantry, Colonel Harvey M. Buckley.<sup>3</sup>

Fourth Kentucky Cavalry, Colonel Board.

First Battalion, 15th United States Infantry, Captain —.

Sixth Indiana Infantry, Colonel T. T. Crittenden.

Battery A, First Kentucky Artillery, Captain D. C. Stone.<sup>4</sup>

FIFTH BRIGADE.—Brigadier General T. J. Wood, commanding.

Twenty-ninth Indiana Infantry, Colonel J. F. Miller.

Thirtieth " " Colonel S. S. Bass.

Thirty-eighth " " Colonel B. F. Scribner.

Thirty-ninth " " Colonel T. J. Harrison.

3. There was some difficulty or misunderstanding in the numbering of the early Kentucky regiments. This should have been its number; but other regiments, although organized afterwards, claimed priority, and it was granted. The regiment is known as the Fifth Kentucky, or "Louisville Legion."

4. When Rousseau advanced to meet Buckner this battery was the only artillery in Kentucky. He had no authority to raise it, and had no guns for it; but he procured one old gun at Jeffersonville, Indiana, with which the company drilled, going through the firings. Just before moving to the front, to resist the threatened invasion, cannon, horses and equipments were received.

SIXTH BRIGADE.—Brigadier General R. W. Johnson, commanding.

Fifteenth Ohio Infantry, Colonel Moses R. Dickey.

Forty-ninth " " Colonel William H. Gibson.

Thirty-second Indiana Infantry, Colonel August Willich.

Thirty-fourth Illinois Infantry, Colonel E. N. Kirk.

The formation of the division in line of battle is thus designated: Rousseau the right, Johnson the centre, Wood the left.

A. McD. McCook,  
Brigadier General Commanding.

Such was the material of the Central Division—composed entirely of volunteer troops; even the battalion of regulars was new—entered in a field of duty, unknown and untried, full of fatigue, hardships, suffering and danger—composed of citizens of the Republic, who, forgetful of self and rising superior to the sordid views of gain, had abandoned the quiet of home and its pleasures, society and its fascinations, the world at large and its constant whirl of excitement, and as soldiers, breasting the bullets of the enemy, stood forth the avowed champions of the national honor and safety.

Meantime the army was rapidly increased and stationed in other portions of the State, gradually assuming shape; but the difficulty of procuring arms, equipments and camp equipage greatly retarded its organization and efficiency. Generals Mitchell, Nelson, Thomas and Crittenden were rallying to their standards regiments destined after a time to become baptized in the crimson tide of blood, and share in the glory of victorious war.

Camp Nevin became a grand school of instruction. Officers and men were thoroughly informed of the duties pertaining to the camp, the garrison, the march and the field. Tactics, embracing the school of the soldier, the school of the company, skirmish drill, the school of the battalion, and the evolutions of a brigade, were carefully taught, and theory joined to practice.

It is interesting to observe the movements of a command of men when first learning the drill. Some display natural military bearing; others the most woful ignorance of the simplest motions. Some execute the minutiae of the drill as if by intuition; others require the most persevering labor in order to obtain a sufficient comprehension to execute its *mechanical* part. For a month or more, schooling in positions, facings, the principle of the step, the manual of arms, loading, firing, bayonet exercise, kneeling, alignment, marching, wheeling and skirmishing is the standing order of the day: these familiarized, and the grander tactics of the battalion and brigade succeed.

All men, though regularly enlisted in the army, are not soldiers. Merely to execute certain motions and manœuvres does not constitute a soldier. Military life is a profession; it has its ornaments and its drones—those who dignify and those who condemn it. Learning exalts it from the mere mechanical drudgery to the nobility of a science; and the true soldier, from the officer high in command down to the private in the ranks, will feel inspired with the

exalted position he holds, and endeavor by his language and actions to maintain its high character in his intercourse with the world. There is a moral sublimity in the act of a man who throws his life into the scale of his country's honor: not less glorious should be his conduct while engaged in its defence.

Another noticeable feature in the life of a new soldier is his exceeding wariness and watchfulness—especially if he is in the field, confronting an enemy. In the earlier operations of the division, whenever outside of camp, he carried musket, bayonet and pistol, fearful of encountering the foe. Kentucky at that time was doubtful ground. The country occupied by our forces was for the most part heavily timbered, and afforded excellent cover for hostile demonstrations. The loyalty of many of the citizens could not be confided in as real, for the instances were frequent where they professed the strongest sympathy in our cause, and yet “bushwhacked” our soldiers at every opportunity, when circumstances favored escape unwhipped of justice. Outpost duty was strictly performed; and so susceptible of fear is the imagination in time of danger, that many false alarms resulted, and many ludicrous scenes occurred. Hardly a night passed that a horse, a mule, a cow or a hog did not pay penance with its life for imprudently approaching the lines; and cases were not rare where a black or charred stump, suddenly magnified into the approach of a stealthy spy, received the contents of a trusty gun; nor were the instances



few when the appearance of half a dozen horsemen hovering near the outposts became the signal of attack, and on more than one occasion the "long roll" sounded, regiments were hurried into line, and all the excitement preceding actual battle was forcibly impressed upon the mind. But no particular harm was done by these errors: they served to prove that the soldiers were alert and vigilant in the discharge of that most important duty—guarding against *surprise*. Occasionally there was gross dereliction in duty. Officers, forgetful of their position, would neglect the execution of imperative orders; soldiers unaccustomed to night vigils would fall asleep while on picket or guard, and some comrade or officer zealous of enforcing discipline reported the unfortunate man, when a court martial, extra duty, a ball and chain, with forfeiture of a certain amount of pay, atoned for the offence, and fortunate was he to escape with this penalty.<sup>5</sup> The court martial was conducted without fear or favor, troubles were investigated and adjudicated, and the sentence declared and executed. Military rule was exercised with stern purpose and unbending will; it was strict, but not tyrannical—sometimes severe, but just.

Again: many soldiers of all the commands considered that as they were south of the Ohio river,

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5. Article 46 of the "Articles of War" declares: "Any sentinel who shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be inflicted by the sentence of a court martial."

and well in a Southern State, they were necessarily in the country of the public enemy, and therefore that pillage, plunder, theft, and the destruction of property were the essential concomitants of that condition. Such ideas were clearly erroneous, and not to be tolerated. War, harsh though it be, is waged upon principle, and in accordance with the laws of nations. The soldier is not the judge of fealty or enmity, nor has he the power of confiscation. His duty is to report to the proper authorities the facts he may ascertain relative to the conduct of the occupants of the land—whether firm and outspoken loyalists, avowed traitors, or double-dealing, hypocritical pretenders. Were these safeguards removed, and the individual soldier constituted judge, with plenary powers of execution, fearful scenes would be enacted—scenes as shocking to the sight, as revolting to the conscience and the heart of humanity as were ever performed in the tragic drama of the French Revolution of 1793.

The army is a vast aggregation of society. Like all society, it is made up of diverse and opposite elements—some high-toned in moral purpose, others debased and groveling in their nature; some above the necessity of even advisory regulations, others uncontrollable except by the exercise of the most rigid discipline and the issuing and enforcement of the most stringent orders.

To guard against the commission of these grave offences, and to protect the people in all their rights,

save those necessarily restricted by military presence, General McCook published an excellent order for the guidance and control of his command. It set forth the leading principle of our contest: that we were fighting for the supremacy of the National Constitution and the restoration of its authority over every foot of American soil; that, as such defenders of the Constitution and the Government, we were to protect and enforce, not to infringe upon or destroy, the acknowledged and declared rights of the people; that we were waging war against misguided countrymen, and that our bearing should be such as to win them back by proving the kindness of our intentions towards them—by establishing the fact, exemplified by our conduct, that we desired them no harm, sought not to destroy a single right nor crush any of their institutions; that we had been misjudged; that they had been duped by designing politicians and ambitious men who preferred the country's ruin to their own political defeat; that kindly and frankly we extended the olive branch of peace, and required no submission save the allegiance of American citizens to the Constitution of the country, and obedience to the laws enacted in pursuance of it; and, lastly, it prohibited strolling among the people, all acts of theft, pillage and lawless violence, as unworthy the dignity and profession of soldiers, as demoralizing and tending to the defeat of our cause, and as surely bringing upon the offender the severest punishment known to military law.



This admirable order was read on dress parade to all the regiments in the division. Brigade and regimental commanders also issued similar addresses to their immediate commands. It was a just and wholesome regulation, and was commended by every true soldier. They accepted it as a declaration of their own views, and rejoiced to know their superiors were of like opinion. It intimidated those who were inclined to the perpetration of offences, and in a peaceful manner insured protection to the people. Nor was it without favorable results in other respects. It disarmed many prejudices and secession proclivities, and did much to maintain the cause of the Union in the hearts of Kentuckians.

Again : the publication of these orders, and others of a similar tenor, at intervals, by appealing to the pride of the soldier, secured his cheerful obedience, and were the foundation of that enviable reputation for soldier-like and gentlemanly qualities which the old Second Division enjoyed, even to the date of its dissolution. There were, however, many individual offenders, but whenever known they were arrested and punished. In this way the honor of the soldier was maintained, obedience asserted, and the majesty of order vindicated.

Meantime additional troops were concentrating at Camp Nevin, composed of each arm of the service—infantry, cavalry and artillery. About the 26th of October the famous Pennsylvania brigade, under General James S. Negley, arrived, and was designated

as the seventh brigade of General McCook's division. Everything presented activity. Officers more familiar with their duties were supplying the demands of the service as rapidly as requisitions could be filled. Subsistence, quartermaster's and medical stores came in seeming abundance, and were consumed and appropriated with surprising facility. To those who were unaccustomed to view the concentration of supplies for an army they appeared enormous; and further, it proved one very important fact, namely, that the simple enlistment of men with muskets in hand did not constitute an army—a lesson which the mass of the people at home failed to comprehend, the ignorance of which and the clamors resulting from it forced the battle and defeat of Bull Run, on the ever memorable 21st of July, 1861—a lesson which even three years, with their terrible budget of experiences, have not thoroughly impressed upon the popular heart.

During November, 1861, an important organization of the army occurred.<sup>6</sup> New departments were created and commanders assigned, and the action of the War Department indicated speedy and active operations. On the 9th of that month it issued the following order:

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6. The field of operations was called the "Department of the Ohio," but the army was styled the "Army of the Ohio," and such it continued until after the battle of Shiloh, when the entire forces concentrated before Corinth were united under the command of Major General H. W. Halleck, and entitled the "Department of the Mississippi."

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,  
 ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
 WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 9, 1861.

[*General Orders No. 97.*]

The following Departments are formed from the present Departments of the West, Cumberland and Ohio :

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4. THE DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO—To consist of the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, that portion of Kentucky east of the Cumberland river, and the State of Tennessee, to be commanded by Brigadier General D. C. Buell, headquarters at Louisville.

By order: JULIUS P. GARESCHÉ,  
 Assistant Adjutant General.

In pursuance of this order from the Adjutant General's office, General Buell assumed command of this new Department on the 15th of that month.

He was a thorough soldier, an able organizer, comprehensive in intellect, patient in preparation, far-seeing, resolute and brave. He organized anew the army, constituting six divisions, and numbering his brigades from one to thirty-seven. The divisions and their commanders were as follows :

First Division,	Brigadier General	George H. Thomas.
Second	"	A. McD. McCook.
Third	"	O. M. Mitchell.
Fourth	"	William Nelson.
Fifth	"	T. L. Crittenden.
Sixth	"	T. J. Wood.

By virtue of this change in organization, General McCook published the following :

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, }  
DECEMBER 3, 1861.

[*General Orders No. 32.*]

I. A new organization is hereby announced, in pursuance of orders from the General commanding the Department of the Ohio.

II. This command will be styled the SECOND DIVISION, and consist of the following brigades, regiments and companies:

#### BRIGADES.

Fourth Brigade,	Brigadier General	L. H. Rousseau.
Fifth	"	T. J. Wood.
Sixth	"	R. W. Johnson.
Seventh	"	James S. Negley.

#### BRIGADE ORGANIZATION.

##### FOURTH BRIGADE.

First Ohio Volunteers.....	Colonel	B. F. Smith.
Fifth Kentucky.....	"	H. M. Buckley.
Sixth Indiana.....	"	T. T. Crittenden.
First battalion, 15th U. S. Infantry,	}	Major John H. King
" " 19th " "		

##### FIFTH BRIGADE.

Twenty-ninth Indiana Volunteers..	Col.	John F. Miller.
Thirtieth	"	Sion S. Bass.
Thirty-fourth Illinois	"	E. N. Kirk.
Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania.....	"	F. S. Stumbaugh.

##### SIXTH BRIGADE.

Fifteenth Ohio Volunteers....	Col.	Moses R. Dickey.
Forty-ninth	"	William H. Gibson.
Thirty-second Indiana	"	August Willich.
Thirty-ninth	"	Thomas J. Harrison.

##### SEVENTH BRIGADE.

First Wisconsin Volunteers .....	Col.	J. C. Starkweather.
Thirty-eighth Indiana	"	B. F. Scribner.
Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania.....	"	William Sirwell.
Seventy-ninth	"	H. A. Hambright.

III. The following commands will be under the immediate control of the General commanding :

First Kentucky Cavalry.....	Colonel Buckner Board.
Battery A, First Ohio Art....	Captain C. S. Cotter.
“ “ First Ky. “ ... “	D. C. Stone.
Twenty-sixth Penn. “ ... “	Charles F. Mueller.

By command of Brigadier General McCook :

DANIEL MCCOOK,  
Captain and Assistant Adjutant General.

The permanent organization of the division was now established. Cheerfully and earnestly it entered upon the rough task of the soldier, and gradually established the reputation which afterward so nobly attached to it.

CAMP NEVIN is a name never to be forgotten by the troops who occupied it, and it will be equally remembered by the friends of many a poor soldier who there rendered up his final account.

It was not held as a strong defensive point, nor because it offered extraordinary advantages for offensive operations, but military reasons prevented a further advance. The army was undisciplined to the extent required in an attacking column ; besides, the enemy was in force on the banks of Green river, his advance resting at Bacon Creek, while his cavalry videttes approached within a few miles of our lines.

Bordering Nolin Creek the land is high and somewhat undulating, but elsewhere it stretches away in long and almost level plateaus, which, owing to the unusual rains, even of that season, became vast reser-



voirs of water. Lurid skies, humid atmosphere, deep mud, miserable wedge tents, change of diet, exposure, and want of proper personal cleanliness, partially the result of inexperience in the new condition of life—all conspired to produce sickness and death, and convert the camp into one vast field hospital.

Several influences were in silent operation, producing serious disease. The chief of these were malaria and the scorbutic taint. Diseases of malarial character were principally intermittent fever, diarrhoea and dysentery. Scorbutic disease was mild in form, and in fact much of the dysentery resulted from these symptoms.

When our troops first moved into the border Southern States, great fears were entertained that the climate, being warmer, would be a potent source of disease, and result in fearful decimation of our men, who for the most part were entirely unaccustomed to it. The Southern press teemed with boastful prophecies of coming disaster, and welcomed us to "hospitable graves," asserting with oracular unction that their climate was "an invincible host of itself, and worth a hundred thousand men in the field!"

Fortunately for us, these predictions failed. No where in the South, during the occupation of our troops, has malarial disease been so severe or so destructive as frequently occurred among their own people in years preceding the war; and when this great fact became apparent to the Southern mind,


its pride was humbled, its vain boastings ceased, and the raising of troops to offset climatic deficiency became a question of serious consideration. As the Southern hope in this respect faded away, our sun ascended: still there was cause for apprehension. Acclimation must go on, be the process ever so fatal. Again, the diseases produced by miasmatic influences seemed to assume an adynamic character, and thus created great perplexity in the minds of surgeons, as to the proper modes of treatment. Most of the physicians were educated and well practised in their profession, and did all within human power to discover the true nature of disease and the most effectual remedies. Some proved clearly and shamefully incompetent for the sacred trust reposed in their hands, and many a comrade fell an early victim to their malpractice. But happily for our army, these parasites upon the glorious life-blood of the nation were speedily brought before authorized and competent boards of examination, and their dismissal or resignation soon followed. Nothing can be more despicable than for a man pretending to medical skill to intrigue himself into a position where the health of hundreds of men is placed in his care, and by his gross ignorance and quack nostrums send scores of them to the grave. It is a highly criminal offence, and should be visited by the most condign punishment.

Measles and pneumonia, other classes of miasmatic diseases, were greatly prevalent. The former raged

to a fearful extent, and the great majority of soldiers were its victims. Colds were liable to result, owing to the unavoidable exposure to which the patient was frequently subjected, and in many cases death ensued. Pneumonia and its types were very threatening, and much of it baffled the physician's skill. October and November were dismal months indeed to the gallant men of the North, who daily saw comrade after comrade wasting away, unattended by wifely care or sisterly affection, and at last followed with solemn step and aching heart their remains to a soldier's grave.

It has been impossible to procure official documentary evidence from the medical department of the division, relative either to its monthly sickness or monthly mortality rates; but from such data as are attainable, the ratio of sickness per thousand of mean strength, during the months of October, November and December, appears to have been on an average 325.90 per cent. per month. The mortality rates were much higher accordingly, the average ratio per thousand of mean strength for the same period being 7.18 per cent. Below will be found tables taken from a new and able work, entitled "Camp Diseases of the United States Armies," by J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., in which the relative proportion of the sickness and mortality of our armies in the different zones of operation is presented at a glance. These reports are based upon a circular issued from the Surgeon General's office, and are

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submitted as an approximation of the condition of the SECOND DIVISION for the period therein mentioned.<sup>7</sup> They also show the relative condition of our own (the central region), as compared with the armies of the Atlantic and Pacific borders.

7. Monthly Sickness Rates of the Armies of the United States, during the year ending June 30, 1862, expressed in ratio per thousand of mean strength.


	1861.						
	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	For the Year.
Atlantic Border....	391.35	372.18	298.26	267.14	255.90	230.99	
Central Region.....	258.65	356.91	325.40	326.11	300.24	305.71	
Pacific Border.....	198.91	200.37	245.27	210.19	279.39	198.84	
	1862.						
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April.	May.	June.	For the Year.
Atlantic Border....	200.34	183.33	167.25	214.52	208.45	239.75	2749.89
Central Region.....	323.55	249.85	252.61	284.32	259.70	232.83	3368.14
Pacific Border.....	201.13	258.27	236.67	136.08	157.47	193.51	2586.60

Monthly Mortality Rates of the Armies of the United States during the year ending June 30, 1862, expressed in ratio per thousand of mean strength.

	1861.						
	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	For the Year.
Atlantic Border....	2.00	2.06	1.79	2.04	2.68	3.24	
Central Region.....	1.02	2.73	3.49	4.66	6.36	6.61	
Pacific Border.....	1.45	1.48	1.18	1.54	1.43	0.91	
	1862.						
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April.	May.	June.	For the Year.
Atlantic Border....	2.98	2.43	2.58	3.16	3.27	3.53	33.40
Central Region.....	8.68	9.24	10.66	6.67	7.40	6.15	80.68
Pacific Border.....	0.21	0.44	1.03	0.36	0.00	0.44	10.76

CAMP NEVIN presented a splendid sight to those unaccustomed to seeing an army in the field. Every where was seen the soldier, with his musket and bayonet flashing in the sunlight. Here and there, on elevated ground, stood the artillery, the "brazen-throated dogs of war," gleaming with brightness and silent in their terrible power. In the valleys, on the hill-sides, by the road-side, at the bridges—every where were seen the white tents of the troops, thousands in number, while at night the country for miles around was lighted up by innumerable camp fires—all incontestable evidence of the "pomp and circumstance of war." But the army was not to remain here long. More stirring scenes were in prospect.

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## CHAPTER V.

THE MOVEMENT TO GREEN RIVER—BATTLE OF ROW-  
LETT'S STATION—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTRY—  
IMPROVEMENT IN THE DISCIPLINE AND ORGANIZA-  
TION OF THE DIVISION—INCREASED DUTIES OF THE  
TROOPS—RECONNOISSANCES AND SUCCESSES.

IN the beginning of December, 1861, preparations were made for an advance, and on the 9th instant General McCook issued orders for the march. Next morning General Johnson with his brigade moved towards Munfordsville, on the north bank of Green river. That night it encamped at Bacon Creek, and one hundred men of the Thirty-second Indiana Infantry, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Von Trebra, were sent forward as an advance guard. They proceeded as far as the river, and occupied the town, the rebels retiring as our troops advanced. Johnson's entire brigade and trains arrived on the 12th instant. From the Rolling Fork to Green river the bridges had all been destroyed as the rebel forces

retreated, and it was impossible to move artillery and transportation without first erecting at least temporary structures. Fortunately Colonel Willich, commanding the Thirty-second Indiana (German), had, upon the organization of his regiment, established a pioneer corps of some forty men, with wagons, tools, and all the necessary equipments for such service. One peculiarity in the construction of these wagons was that the bodies, which were built much like those of ordinary wagons, answered the purpose of pontoons, and with them a small stream could be easily and rapidly bridged. This pioneer attachment, commanded by Lieutenant Pietzuch, rendered valuable service in the erection of bridges while on the march from Nolin. On the 13th instant Colonel Willich threw two companies of his regiment across the river, as pickets, relieving them alternally. This was done to guard the approach to the river, while the remainder of the command constructed a temporary bridge across it. The men worked incessantly, day and night, for thirty-six hours, eating their meals with one hand while they labored with the other. This bridge was afterwards replaced by regular and substantial pontoons.

It was completed on the morning of the 17th of December, and most opportunely, as events which occurred a few hours later proved. The splendid railroad structure across the river had been partially destroyed by the rebels; therefore, Willich's bridge afforded the only means of passage. The railroad

bridge rested upon four massive piers, built of large blocks of sandstone. They were octagon in form, having a base of thirty-six feet in length and eighteen feet in width. The center pier, the only one resting in the river, was about one hundred and twenty feet in height; the other three, resting upon the slope of the bluffs, had an altitude of some eighty feet. The abutments were also heavy masses of masonry. The spans were of iron, and the distance between the abutments and piers about one hundred and twenty feet. The last pier on the south side of the river was demolished with gunpowder by the rebels. It lay a mass of ruins at its former base. As one witnessed the destruction of so much architectural beauty, and reflected upon the foul treason which had wrought it, he might well exclaim, as did Anarch in Milton:

“If that be your way, you have not far;  
So much the nearer danger! Go and speed!  
Havoc, and spoil, and ruin are our gain.”

On the 11th of December the remaining brigades of the division moved to Bacon Creek, twelve miles distant, and established camp for a few days. On the 13th instant four companies of the Sixteenth United States Infantry, under command of Captain R. E. A. Crofton, were attached to General Rousseau's brigade, and the whole of the regular force placed under the command of Major John H. King, of the Fifteenth Infantry. These troops, like those composing the Fifteenth Infantry, were newly en



listed, but possessed the stamina of efficient soldiers. The camping ground at this point was very pleasant and healthy. The ground was abrupt and rolling, and springs of excellent water were abundant; but the forward movement had commenced, and all were impatient to continue it. Officers and men eagerly sought news from the front by every person who came from that direction, anxiously expectant of hearing of rebel resistance and bloody conflict, and impatient for participation. Late in the afternoon of the 16th instant the intelligence of a skirmish reached camp. It created considerable excitement, and furnished proof that the rebels were still in existence, and not far distant. It was a very simple affair, but, like all others occurring in the early period of the war, it was magnified into undue prominence. The history of the skirmish, as given at the time, was this: Company I, of the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry, was attacked near Green river by about one hundred and fifty rebel cavalry, who had dismounted for that purpose, and quietly approached them unobserved. They fired one round, fortunately injuring none. Our soldiers quickly formed in line, and returned two volleys, which were said to have wounded several. The enemy hastily retired, mounted their horses and disappeared. Thus it ended. That evening marching orders were received. The soldiers were astir, and their joy unconcealed.

The 17th of December was a beautiful day. The sun shone in all its splendor; the air was mild and

genial, and the birds caroled as in spring-time—in fact, thus far December had been pleasant as May. The sight that morning was magnificent. Away in the distance stretched the long, narrow valley, while on either side were a broken chain of knobs, whose peaks seemed to penetrate the blue ethereal veil spanning the heavens.

At an early hour the column was in motion. Combined with the landscape it presented a gorgeous panoramic view. Heading the column was General McCook and staff, with a cavalry escort; then came brigade commanders and staff, followed by regiment after regiment, led by martial music and instrumental bands, which, discoursing inspiring strains, made hill answer hill in long-continued echo. The artillery, with its splendid retinue of horses, and cannon gleaming as if in rivalry with the sun—the baggage trains, with their white coverings, extending fully two miles, and the guard of picked men, chosen for its protection against attack in the rear, shared in the warlike scene.

When 'within four miles of Munford'sville the booming of cannon was heard. From its irregularity it was considered uncertain whether an engagement was progressing, or the firing was merely a practice at target. Ere it ceased all the troops had reached the town. As soon as they arrived and learned the true nature of the case great excitement prevailed. Scarcely had they arrived at the encampment ground before the order was given to prepare for action.

Then ascended shout upon shout. The soldiers seemed in a delirium of joy. In less than five minutes the regiments were in line, with canteens and haversacks slung, muskets, and forty rounds of cartridge each. It was the first *real* call for battle. Previously there had been alarms, but they proved false; the enemy had never risked an encounter. Now the danger was imminent, the peril actual; and the moment had arrived when, with the knowledge of these facts, the valor of the men was to be tested.

To talk bravely of what we will do in battle is very easy, but it is an uncertain criterion of conduct in certain and deadly conflict. The truly brave indulge in no vain-boastings—in no assertion of distinction in arms, but in the steady performance of duty await the period when the roar of artillery, the flash of musketry, the charge, the shock of battle, the appearance of the dead and dying, shall test their capacity as soldiers and establish their reputation as heroes.

Thus, when on this day the “long roll” rallied the commands to prepare for action, the line of demarkation was distinctly drawn. Those who had been silent, and never speculated on the glory they would win, seemed inspired with patriotic ardor, and rushed forward as to a banquet, while many of those who had taken especial pains to assure their comrades of their courage and invincibility were suddenly seized with severe colic, or adopted the lesson of the old distich—

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"He who fights and runs away  
May live to fight another day;  
But he who is in battle slain  
Shall never live to fight again."

Happily for the good name of the division, the latter class were very few. The troops formed in different positions along the north bank of the river. The Forty-ninth Ohio and Thirty-ninth Indiana Infantry only, crossed to the south side. Rousseau's brigade was drawn up near the bridge, with Negley's command close at hand, and Wood's brigade to the front and left of the town, but some half mile above the bridge. After standing to arms an hour or more, the battle having ended and the enemy disappeared, they returned to camp. Thus the brave boys were doomed to disappointment, and many envied the glory of their more fortunate comrades.

The banks of Green river are high and quite abrupt, and the country round about is rolling and interspersed with knobs. The turnpike and the railroad both run nearly due south from the river. Just on the south bank, and on the turnpike, is Woodsonville, a quiet little village, and utterly devoid of pretension. The country from the river, for the distance of a mile, is cleared of timber and quite commanding—the land receding into a flat, excepting that to the right of the railway, which steadily rolls upward toward the river. After crossing the flat the land again ascends, forming another commanding swell, opening upon the south into a very pretty and cultivated valley. This latter ridge or swell is heavily

timbered. To the right of this valley is a chain of hills which run south-easterly. It is also bounded upon the east by a similar range running in nearly the same direction. The picket line of the camp was stationed at the south edge of the timber skirting the base of the last-mentioned ridge. Four companies of the Thirty-second Indiana were on picket duty, and four other companies lay near the river, as a reserve force.

About half-past twelve in the afternoon of the 17th of December the pickets espied some rebel soldiers in the woods, to their front and right. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Von Trebra immediately ordered two companies to advance and dislodge them if possible. They deployed in skirmish line, and moved rapidly forward, the enemy falling back upon his main line without firing a shot. The two companies steadily advanced, until unexpectedly a troop of rebel cavalry dashed over the hill and poured a volley into their line. This indicated that the enemy was in considerable force in their front ; but, nothing daunted, the Germans returned a galling fire, which for a moment scattered the horsemen. Fearful that they might be led into an ambushade, the order to retreat was given, which they obeyed by falling back like veterans in good order. This movement gave new courage to the rebels, who prepared and soon emerged from the woods into the open field, and in a swift charge made an attack. Captain Glass, who commanded the second company, sent reinforcements,



and the enemy was repulsed and followed for some distance. They now encountered a large force of rebel infantry, before which it was deemed prudent to retire upon the supports. This was done, the two companies steadily firing in retreat. Meantime this little force being hard pressed, the bugle was sounded to rally the remaining companies of the regiment. Gallantly they rushed to the aid of their brothers, falling in with much steadiness upon the right and left flanks, but almost breathless from the injudicious speed with which they had come.

While the force under Captain Glass was contending with the enemy, the third company, posted to the left of the pike, had advanced in a southerly direction, meeting with very little resistance. The enemy now gathered in greater force than ever, and an actual battle seemed imminent. Von Trebra therefore sent the sixth, seventh and tenth companies to support the second company on the right, and the first, fifth, eighth and ninth companies to support the third company on the left flank. The line thus formed moved forward, and the rebel infantry were speedily thrown into confusion and retreated.

Now it was that the real *animus* of the battle occurred. The Texan Rangers, Colonel Terry commanding, rushed down the hill, shouting with demoniac howl, and like an eagle sure of his prey, pounced upon the entire Federal line. The onslaught was terrible in its swiftness, and seemed impossible to check. When within fifteen paces they opened a mur-

derous fire from their carbines and revolvers. Some, in the frenzy of battle, rode into the midst of the line and waged a hand to hand conflict. It was a trying time for our men—one of those moments when sudden and desperate action will overrule numerical force, and give victory to despairing bravery, or when lack of nerve is the sure forerunner of humiliating defeat. The Germans, however, proved good soldiers, and reserved their fire until the reckless Texans were within almost musket touch; then from every gun leaped the fiery flame of death. Full two score of traitors fell; their line wavered and fell back, but again renewed the action.

At this moment a fearful contest was progressing upon the left flank. A portion of the third company, led by Lieutenant Wax Sachs, as if scorning to meet the foe under cover of the timber, advanced into the open field and engaged him—outnumbered four to one! The valorous Texans accepted the challenge. The contest, short but bloody, was fought with indomitable resolution and desperate bravery. The little band, unable to withstand such fearful odds, came near destruction. Already Sachs and many of his men had fallen, fighting even in death.

But they were not long left unavenged. Adjutant Carl Schmidt ordered the eighth company to advance upon the right flank of the third company's position, while Von Trebra with the ninth company moved upon the left flank. Both attacked the enemy in close skirmish line, and with such vigor that he almost

instantly gave way, and the remainder of Sach's heroic band was rescued from destruction. The Rangers had dealt death unsparingly, but the avenging demon had not been idle. Evidently the rebels were disheartened. Thus far they had failed of victory; the ardor with which they entered the fight was dampened by successive repulses, and other means must be adopted would they achieve victory in the end.

Now, by a system of feigned retreats they sought to draw our men from their cover and up the hill. Here was a masked battery, with which they would have swept them from the field. But the officers in command did not permit valor to control discretion; and knowing the great odds against them, were content to hold their own position. Finally, despairing of decoying them into the ambushade, they unmasked the battery and opened fire. It was well directed, but did no harm. The enemy then disposed his forces in such a manner as apparently to induce a charge upon the battery, but in reality he was preparing for another fierce onslaught upon the right of our line. The second, sixth and tenth companies were deployed as skirmishers, while the seventh company was drawn up in company column for their support. The sixth company was deployed behind a fence. The Rangers dashed up to them and commenced a rapid fire; the company returned it vigorously, holding them in check for some time. At last a portion of the Rangers crossed the fence, and by a



flank movement sought to cut off their retreat from the supports; they then fell back in the rear of the seventh company, drawn up in a square.

Now came the most determined assault of the day. A body of cavalry, full two hundred strong, charged with great impetuosity upon the front and left flank of the little square, consisting of scarcely fifty men. Captain Welschbellick permitted them to come within sixty yards, perhaps, before opening fire. The shock staggered them; their lines were broken, and they retired in confusion, a part only returning the fire. Again they formed, and fiercely attacked the square in front and both flanks—many of them, maddened by such determined resistance, riding their horses directly upon the wall of steel which bristled from every side. Still the band of heroes was invincible, the square unbroken:—as fast as comrades fell, the gaps were closed ere the enemy could break the front. A third attack was made, led by Colonel Terry, the rebel commander; but this proved equally fruitless—their loss was far more severe, for Terry, too, was a victim to the unerring fire which brought many a deluded brave from his horse and to the grave. The fall of Terry created consternation in their ranks, and they fled precipitately from the field.

Colonel Willich, who had been ordered upon duty at headquarters, and therefore was necessarily absent from his command, now appeared upon the field, and observing the right wing of his line retiring, and two regiments of rebel infantry advancing, thus endan-

gering the line of retreat of his left wing, ordered his bugler to sound the signal for "retiring slowly," and thus formed the regiment in line of battle. In the meantime Captain Erdelmeyer, who had been detached with his company when the battle commenced, under the impression that the attacking column consisted only of cavalry, for the purpose of engaging him on the flank, discovered upon arriving at the point designated, that the enemy possessed both infantry and artillery, to attack which would be injudicious and unjustifiable; he therefore kept the covered position which he then occupied, and remained until the opportune moment, when the rebel infantry had all been drawn to another part of the field. His appearance was unexpected, and was the signal for a general retreat of the foe; the cavalry fled indiscriminately, the artillery followed, while the infantry covered the retreat. Thus ended the engagement of "Rowlett's Station," thus entitled because it was fought near a station of that name, and some two miles from Green river.

Whether the enemy knew of the immediate presence of the rest of the division, and for this reason beat a retreat, is uncertain—the rebel General Hindman claimed such knowledge in his report; but certain it is that a few well-directed shots from Captain C. S. Cotter's battery, posted on the north bank of the river, near the railroad bridge, tended to hasten it. The Thirty-second Indiana lost in this engagement twelve killed and eighteen wounded. The loss

of the enemy is not definitely known. They left several dead bodies on the field, and carried many more off in a wagon. Citizens in the vicinity afterwards affirmed that their loss in killed was forty-nine, and in wounded nearly seventy. General Hindman, commanding the rebel troops, states in his official report<sup>1</sup> that his force consisted of one thousand one

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1. PART XVIII, Rebellion Record, contains the following Official (rebel) Report of the battle:

HEADQUARTERS ADVANCE GUARD, C. A., KY. }  
CAVE CITY, DECEMBER 19, 1861. }

SIR.—At eight o'clock, A. M., on the 17th instant, I moved toward Woodsonville, for the purpose of breaking up the railroad from the vicinity of that place southward. My force consisted of one thousand one hundred infantry and four pieces of artillery.

When within two and a half miles of Woodsonville, concealed from the enemy's view, I halted the column and ordered forward Colonel Terry's Rangers, to occupy the heights of my right, left and front, and Major Phifer's cavalry to watch the crossings of Green river, still further to my left.

These orders having been executed, and no force of the enemy or pickets seen, I advanced the column till the right reached the railroad. This brought me within three-quarters of a mile of the river and the enemy, but still concealed, except a small body of cavalry upon the extreme left. Here a company of Rangers was detached to observe the enemy from Rowlett's Knob, which was to my right, across the railroad. A strip of timber bordered the river, parallel to the line held by my cavalry. Fields were between a body of the enemy's infantry, as skirmishers moved through the timber, by their right, on my left. They were fired upon by a small body of my cavalry, and retired. The firing ceased for about half an hour, and I went in person to select a suitable place for camp, leaving Colonel Terry in command, with instructions to decoy the enemy up the hill, where I could use my infantry and artillery with effect, and be out of the range of the enemy's batteries.

Before returning to the column the fire from the skirmishers recommenced. The enemy appeared in force upon my right and center. Colonel Terry, at the head of seventy-five Rangers, charged about three hundred, routed and drove them back, but fell, mortally wounded. A body of the enemy, of about the same size, attacked the Rangers, under Captain Farrell, upon the right of the turnpike, and were repulsed with heavy loss. The enemy now began crossing by regiments, and moving about on my right and left flanks. Three companies of Colonel Marmaduke's (First Arkansas) battalion were thrown out as skirmishers on my left, engaged the enemy's right, and drove them to the river. I now ordered forward Captain Smith's battery, and the Second Arkansas regi-

hundred infantry and four pieces of artillery; but besides his infantry force, he had the regiment of Texan Rangers (cavalry), and another cavalry command under Major Phifer, making the entire force of the enemy at least two thousand in number. Colonel Willich's entire force engaged in the action numbered four hundred and fourteen. Against this odds the brave Germans contended most gallantly for an hour and a half, and closed the affair masters of the field. As soon as it was found the enemy had given up the contest and retired, the Thirty-second was relieved by the Thirty-ninth Indiana, and the sad task of interring the heroic dead was commenced. They were buried with military honors, and the funeral service was very impressive. Colonel Willich

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ment to support it, holding the Sixth Arkansas regiment in reserve. The artillery opened fire upon the enemy in the field adjacent to the railroad, and drove them to the bank of the river.

Firing now ceased on both sides. The enemy made no further attempt to advance; but knowing that he had already crossed the river in force more than double my own, and had the means of crossing additional forces, I withdrew my command by way of the turnpike, two miles and a half, and took position to meet the enemy, if disposed to advance. There being no indication of such an intention, I returned to my camp here, reaching this place at eight o'clock, P. M.

My loss in this affair was as follows: *Killed*—Colonel Terry and three men of his regiment. *Dangerously wounded*—Lieutenant Morris and three men (Texan Rangers). *Slightly wounded*—Captain Walker and three men (Texan Rangers), and two men of the First Arkansas Battalion.

I estimated the enemy's loss at seventy-five killed and left on the ground; wounded, unknown. I have eight prisoners. Others taken were too badly wounded to be moved, and were left at citizens' houses.

The troops under my command who were engaged displayed courage in excess. The others were as steady as veterans.

Respectfully,

T. C. HINDMAN, Brigadier General.

To LIEUTENANT D. C. WHITE,

A. A. A. G., First Division, Central Army of Kentucky.

delivered a touching address, paying a beautiful tribute to the memory of their fallen comrades, and then each member of the regiment threw a handful of earth into the graves of the lamented dead.

"Ah! never shall the land forget  
How gushed the life-blood of her brave—  
Gushed, warm with hope and courage yet,  
Upon the soil they fought to save!"<sup>3</sup>

The rebel authorities, with their usual presumption and perversion of truth, claimed this engagement as a victory, and as such it is recorded in the Southern histories of the war.<sup>3</sup> Nor is this surprising; it is in perfect keeping with the history of that usurpation of power which, instigated in deceit and fraud, has since been maintained only by the grossest misrepresentations to its people and the exercise of an autocratic despotism over the mind and will of its subjects.

This victory was the herald of much joy; and the soldiers, especially, were inspirited at their success. Their first encounter had proved their mettle, and that the boast of the haughty Southerners, who, like the ancient cavaliers on their pilgrimage of honor, sent forth their heralds announcing their emprise and

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2. See William Cullen Bryant's "Battle Field."

3. Pollard, in his "First Year of the War," page 285, after alluding to the advance of the Federal army, says: "A portion of this advance crossed the river at Munfordsville to Woodsonville, on the opposite shore, where they were attacked by the advance Confederate forces, under Brigadier General Hindman, and defeated with a loss of about fifty killed. The Confederates lost four killed and nine wounded."

challenged—not some kindred spirit to condescend to their request; but, unlike them, in sonorous language, like a trumpet blast, dared the Northerners “to gird the armor on,” and “*in brace of five to one*” accept their “deliverance” in the tournament of the bloody battle-field,—was idle talk, the effervescence of an overheated brain—a fit example of Southern bravado and bluster, but illy sustained in actual encounter.

General Buell, in appreciation of the gallantry displayed by the Thirty-second Indiana, in the affair at Rowlett's Station, issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }  
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, DECEMBER 27, 1861. }

[*General Orders No. 23.*]

The General Commanding takes pleasure in bringing to notice the gallant conduct of a portion of Colonel Willich's regiment, the Thirty-second Indiana, at Rowlett's Station, in front of Munfordsville, on the 17th instant.

Four companies of the regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Von Trebra, on outpost duty, were attacked by a column of the enemy, consisting of one regiment of cavalry, a battery of artillery, and two regiments of infantry. They defended themselves until reinforced by other companies of the regiment, and the fight was continued with such effect that the enemy at length retreated precipitately.

The attack of the enemy was mainly with his cavalry and artillery. Our troops fought as skirmishers, rallying rapidly into squares when charged by the cavalry, sometimes even defending themselves singly and killing their assailants with the bayonet.

The General tenders his thanks to the officers and soldiers of the regiment for their gallant and efficient conduct on this occasion. He commends it as a study and example to

all other troops under his command, and enjoins them to emulate the discipline and instruction which insure such results.

The name of "ROWLETT'S STATION" will be inscribed in the regimental colors of the Thirty-second Indiana regiment.

By command of Brigadier General Buell.

JAMES B. FREY, A. A. G.  
Chief of Staff.

Munfordsville is an old-looking town of some four hundred inhabitants, and the county seat of Hart county. It is on the line of the great Southern highway, and seventy-three miles south of Louisville. It is situated on the north bank of Green river, a swift and pretty stream, but possesses no special features of commercial importance. The country around is high and rolling, frequently rising into knobs, and principally timbered, although there are here and there well-cultivated farms or plantations. The chief productions are corn and tobacco, though small grain and cotton are cultivated to some extent, but with indifferent success. As a point of military occupation it is of some moment, for it controls the railroad communication and demands strong bridge defences to insure transportation and safety against the raids of the enemy. It thus forms an essential link in the strategic line of operations for our army, and an invaluable safeguard if defeated or forced to retreat. It was for some time the strategic front of the army, and has been at different times since the army advanced, a temporary base, both of supply and

manœuvres; much labor has therefore been bestowed in the erection of strong field fortifications for its defence.

The military encampment at this place was styled Camp George Wood, in honor of the father of General Thomas J. Wood, a worthy man, an esteemed citizen and a strong Unionist, who resided in the town.

The division lay here from the 17th of December, 1861, to the 14th of February, 1862. It was the rainy season—a time when the movement of an army is almost an impossibility—a time of deep mud, incessant toil and weary exhaustion. There was much to be done to properly secure the place as the front of military demonstrations; consequently the fatigue duty imposed upon the men was very severe. A pontoon bridge must be constructed, and a new road built, that troops and artillery might be hurried to the front, in support of the advance, should it be attacked, and to provide a speedy and safe means of retreat if compelled to fall back across the river before superior numbers. An extended line of field works or intrenchments running over a long interval of irregular ground must also be erected; and ere the army could advance, the lofty railroad bridge must be completed, that supplies might follow the army in its forward movement.

These labors, added to police and picket duty, still further increased by frequent reconnoissances, taxed the soldiers' capacity for endurance to the extreme.



Nor was this all: whenever the weather permitted, regimental and brigade drills were ordered, and these were frequently more exhaustive to the energies of the men than the execution of any other duty. But all were necessary, and obedience was most cheerfully yielded by the troops. The spring campaign would doubtless open early, and all felt the necessity of being prepared for it.

Much improvement was made in the condition of the troops while at Camp Wood. The rebellion had so suddenly sprung upon the people of the North, and found the nation so poorly provided in the essential means for an adequate defence, that with all its energies, applied in every department of industry, the most imperative demands, both in military muniments and equipments, could be but slowly and partially satisfied. In the outset each State in a great measure clothed the troops it sent into the field, and in some instances furnished the camp and garrison equipage; but these were soon worn out or rendered unserviceable. Their wants were then pressing as ever, but the means of supply less speedy. Nor is this surprising. A large army was already in the field, scattered from the Potomac in the east to Kansas in the west. The War Department could not justly furnish one division of the army with all its requirements to the exclusion of the others; therefore, all were but imperfectly provided for. General McCook's division had probably its share of supplies, as its quartermaster, Captain James F. Boyd, was

an energetic and thorough business man, whose only aim was the strict fulfillment of every duty connected with his position, and who let no opportunity pass for promoting the comfort and welfare of the command. To him the division is under lasting obligations for the unwearied attention which he ever gave to its interests—a position of severe toil, great responsibility and generally of unappreciated merit. Happily, in this instance the position and the man were both respected and held in esteem.


As previously stated,<sup>4</sup> the division had been supplied chiefly with wedge tents. This tent is six feet ten inches long, eight feet four inches broad, and six feet ten inches high, giving a total cubic capacity of one hundred and ninety-four cubic feet. There were five occupants to each tent, and in many cases six. Such crowding together of human beings could not fail to produce sickness and even death; but this was at that time unavoidable—a military necessity. There was another, somewhat in use, of more ample dimensions, but little better, called the bell tent. This is shaped much like the Sibley, but is not so large or healthy, being without the opening at the apex.

During January prospects brightened. Quartermaster's supplies came in greater abundance;—clothing, tents, and all camp equipage were issued in full allowance. Ordnance and ordnance stores, too, were

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4. See Chapter iv, page 84.

superior in quality ; while the commands which had a variety of guns—Springfield muskets and rifles, Austrian and Belgian rifles and muskets—were changed to a uniformity in kind and calibre. Better accommodations for the sick were also provided ;—the medical attendance was superior, and in fact the division in all its departments. became more active, labored with better success, and accomplished more in creating unity in sentiment, harmony in organization, and the foundation for a good and lasting reputation, than in all its previous existence. The reason was plain to be seen. Men had become acquainted with each other, their different habits and methods of business were better understood, the demands of the division were more plainly seen, and the mode of supplying them more familiar. The officers being thus acquainted, and all being inspired with the grand aim of establishing a military organization, perfect as possible in all its parts, opinions and interests, to a great degree coalesced, and much good resulted therefrom. But perhaps no one improvement in these respects was received with more gratification by the soldiers of the division than the entire substitution of Sibley for the bell and wedge tents. This tent is conical in shape, eighteen feet in diameter, and thirteen feet high, containing 1102 cubic feet. It has a cap or cover at the apex, to regulate the ventilation. Although the Sibley is not without serious objection, it is incomparably superior to the other kinds in common use. Housed in these, the







REYNOLDS, N.Y.

*Th. J. Wood*

BRIG. GEN. TH. J. WOOD.

men were much more comfortable than previously, and many displayed a good taste in so fitting them up that they possessed a cosy and homelike appearance; and here again military necessity overcrowded the tents, by allowing only five to a company, which necessarily compelled from eighteen to twenty men to sleep in each, and which gave only from 55.01 to 55.66 cubic feet of air to each man. Any person familiar with the laws of hygiene needs no demonstration to show the utter unfitness of even this tent for the maintenance of health<sup>5</sup> among the troops, especially when it is considered that a single healthy person will consume five hundred cubic feet of air.

There were no very important changes in the division during its encampment at Green river; but there were some which perhaps demand mention.

On the 24th day of December Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood, commanding the fifth brigade, was ordered to report at Bardstown, Kentucky, and take charge of a camp of instruction. He at once proceeded to his new field of duty, and Colonel Edward N. Kirk, of the Thirty-fourth Illinois Infantry, succeeded him in the command.<sup>6</sup>

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5. Woodward's "Camp Diseases in the United States Army" thus alludes to the great defect in the ventilation of tents: "The Sibley tent, it is true, has an opening at the apex, left for the special purposes of ventilation; but when the door of the tent is closed, there are no adequate apertures by which air can enter to feed the upward current with sufficient rapidity to secure adequate change of air for the usual population of one of these tents."

6. Colonel John F. Miller was the senior Colonel in the brigade, and properly entitled to its command; but severe sickness compelled his absence from the field, and Colonel E. N. Kirk, next in rank, by virtue of commission and muster, was appointed brigade commander.

About this time it became apparent that there were men holding commissions in the division who, by natural stupidity, want of study, or from a reckless disregard of duty, were wholly and notoriously incompetent for the positions they held—a state of things which, if continued, would not only reflect dishonor upon the State and nation, but probably end in disaster and needless death to many noble comrades in arms, who unfortunately might be under their command. To rid the army of this parasitic burden, and pave the way for the promotion of worthier men, a Board of Examination<sup>7</sup> was appointed, composed of able military men, before whom all officers suspected of want of competency were brought and subjected to a rigid investigation as to their knowledge and capacity for command. If the examination proved creditable, the officer was dismissed with good advice concerning the prompt discharge of his duties; if a failure, he was speedily recommended for dismissal “for the good of the service;”

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7. The order constituting this board is as follows :

HEAD QUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, }  
JANUARY 1, 1862. }

I. A Board of Examination consisting of Brigadier General R. W. Johnson, commanding sixth brigade; Colonel E. N. Kirk, Thirty-fourth Illinois Volunteers, commanding fifth brigade, and Colonel B. F. Smith, First Ohio Volunteers, will convene at ten o'clock, A. M., to-morrow, at the Headquarters of Brigadier General R. W. Johnson, for the examination of such officers as may be brought before it. The junior member of the board will take note of the proceedings.

II. Any officer of this Division ordered to appear before said board by the command of the chairman thereof, will immediately report in obedience to said order.

but some, fearful of the fate that awaited them if brought before the board, tendered their resignation on grounds of pressing necessity, preferring to resign honorably to running a venture of being dishonorably discharged; and even the resignation of these men was forwarded to the commanding general of the department with endorsements strongly hinting of incompetency or worthlessness as an officer. Thus the service was relieved of men who had been commissioned by the State, without inquiry into capability or worth—men unfit to manage their own personal concerns, much less fit to care for a command of volunteers.

On the 6th of January, 1862, the commanding officers of regiments were ordered to report to the adjutant general of the division the names of two officers and four non-commissioned officers or privates, to be sent to their respective States, on recruiting service. The decimation suffered by the division from sickness at Camp Nevin, and which still continued with much severity, rendered this step necessary, although most of the regiments had been in service hardly six months; and again, it must be remembered that many of them had never exceeded the minimum number requisite to muster into the service.<sup>8</sup>

The Pioneer corps, based upon Colonel Willich's system, was organized, and the efficiency of this

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8. See Appendix—Regimental Tabular Histories.



important body much increased. Brigade commanders were directed to detail one first and one second lieutenant, with fifty men, to report to Colonel W. P. Innis, commanding the First Regiment of Michigan Mechanics and Engineers, for organization. About the 20th of December Colonel Innis, with three companies of his regiment, was ordered to report to General McCook, at this camp—the rest of the regiment being divided between Generals Nelson, Thomas and Mitchell. This command was a very efficient organization, and under the leadership of an able field and staff. For the purpose of co-operating with this body of engineers, the Pioneer corps was called into being and placed upon a substantial footing. It was composed of good men, skilled in the science of engineering, military, civil or railroad, and in some branch of mechanics, and their labor was creditable to the division.

Close upon this was established a Signal corps, composed of four second lieutenants and eight non-commissioned officers or privates from each brigade—faithful and intelligent men, who were to act under oath, to be mounted and equipped at the expense of the Government, and report to Lieutenant T. S. Dumont for organization and instruction. This corps was continued until the winter of 1862 and 1863, when General Rosecrans founded the grander system of an army corps—composed by details, however, as before, but consolidated into one body, under command of Captain Jesse Merrill, chief signal officer of

the department. The officers of this corps are furnished with powerful telescopes, and its object is to keep up communication with different parts of the army, through the several commanding officers, and carefully to watch and report the movements of the enemy. Their stations are generally upon the hills, mountains, and other elevations suitable for the secure and prompt execution of its trust.

Another department—that of Provost Marshal, which had been partially organized while at Camp Nevin—now assumed shape, and became the repository of army justice, under the faithful and judicious management of Captain Orris Blake, of the Thirty-ninth Indiana Infantry. To him the whole subject of trade, passes, offences, etc., was referred for disposition, and generally his judgment was final. This office is one of toil and perplexities.

The establishment of these, together with the appointment of Colonel Edward A. Parrott, First Ohio Infantry, as Division Inspector, and Captain William R. Terrell, Fifth United States Artillery, as chief of that arm, in place of Captain C. S. Cotter, of the First Ohio Volunteer Artillery, completed the organization of the division in all its staff and administrative departments. The machinery was now well in motion, and the business and duties of the command were intrusted to hands which, if found competent, could but reflect credit upon it, its gallant organizer, and his faithful brigade and regimental officers.

The division was also increased in force by the arrival, on the 21st of January, 1862, of Captain William R. Terrell's Battery H, Fifth United States Artillery; also, by the temporary attachment of the Second Kentucky and Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry regiments; also, a squadron of the Third Indiana Cavalry; also, companies G and H, First Battalion, Fifteenth United States Infantry. The artillery was under the control of the Chief of Artillery, and the cavalry was assigned to the command of General Johnson; the two companies of regular troops joined the battalion in General Rousseau's brigade.

While the division lay at Green river, confronting the rebel forces of General Buckner, several reconnoissances were made to the front. They were always for the double purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the country, its accidents of ground, its roads, bridges and defiles, its resources, means of subsistence and supplies; also, to gain information of the movements of the enemy, his position, strength, nature of his defences, and in fact, everything which a good general could require in order to learn what his adversary is about, that he may make the proper dispositions to meet, circumvent and defeat him.

Perhaps the most important of these expeditions was that made by the Thirty-second Indiana and the First Wisconsin Infantry, and Captain Gaddis' company of the Third Indiana Cavalry, on the 26th of January. The cavalry and the Thirty-second Indiana penetrated to Horse Cave, a station on the Louisville

and Nashville Railroad, and about nine miles south of Green river. The First Wisconsin was stationed some distance in the rear, as a reserve force, to support the advance, if called into action. No engagement resulted from this reconnoissance, but much valuable information was obtained relative to the enemy's position and actions. It was found that the rebel General Hindman had advanced his brigade to within three miles of Horse Cave; that the railroad track was destroyed at intervals to within five miles of our camp; that the turnpike was blocked with felled trees for the distance of four miles this side of Horse Cave; that the reservoirs or natural inlets of the surface water, upon which our army in its march through Kentucky must principally rely for water, as streams and creeks are scarce, were filled with dead cattle and hogs, whose decaying flesh filled the air with a noisome stench; that the rebels were not intrenched, nor from indications did they intend any movement on our front; that the next line of rebel troops was at Rocky Hill, while the balance of their forces was at Bowling Green.

Meantime all was quiet on the immediate front of the division. But not so elsewhere in the "Army of the Ohio." On the 11th of January Colonel James A. Garfield with his command encountered the enemy in battle on Middle Creek, Kentucky, drove him from his intrenched positions, and forced him back into the mountains, with the loss of baggage and stores, and a severe loss in killed and wounded. And again,

on the 19th day of January the Federal forces under General George H. Thomas achieved an important and signal victory over the rebel forces, some twelve thousand strong, under Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer. The enemy's defeat was complete, and his loss in battle heavy. Besides the killed and wounded he lost fourteen pieces of artillery, some fifteen hundred horses and mules, his entire camp equipage, wagons, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and a large amount of commissary and quartermasters' stores. The night being dark and stormy, under cover of which he escaped into Tennessee, alone prevented the capture of his entire command.

These successes filled the soldiers with enthusiasm. They were impatient to be led against the enemy, and their patriotic ardor could scarcely brook the delay which restrained them to so quiet a camp. They desired to emulate the courage of their comrades in General Thomas's division, and prove to the country that the SECOND DIVISION was worthy a name in history.

The time was fast approaching when this seeming lethargy would give place to a long and tedious march, full of hardships and difficulties, calling into action the noblest qualities of a soldier—fortitude, perseverance and courage.

## CHAPTER VI.

MARCH OF THE DIVISION FROM GREEN RIVER TO NASHVILLE—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE—THEIR MORAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

THE month of February inaugurated a series of disastrous blows to the rebel cause. The brilliant achievement of our arms at Mill Springs exposed and indeed turned the right of the rebel line of operations, compelled the enemy to retreat into Tennessee, and eventuated in the establishment of another line of defence. Meantime fearful defeats awaited their arms to the westward. The enemy's line of defence extended from Columbus in the west to Cumberland Gap in the east. The Gap was strongly fortified and held by a large force of troops, although the Mill Springs success uncovered the line. Bowling Green was reported to be well defended by regular fortresses—secure against *coups-de-main*, and to be carried only by escalade or assault. Columbus was

equally impregnable. The Tennessee and Cumberland rivers were the great natural highways of commerce, penetrating both Kentucky and Tennessee—each navigable in spring-time, at periods of high water, for a long distance. Where they cross the boundary line between these States they are only twelve miles apart, and flow nearly parallel with each other. Upon this line the Confederate Government erected defences—Fort Henry, upon the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, upon the Cumberland. While these important places were held by the Confederates there could be no successful invasion of the Southern country. It was deemed hazardous to attempt to carry either Bowling Green or Columbus by assault. The only course left was to pursue a strategic line of operation, which should compel the evacuation of these strong points, by breaking the center of the line, and thus flanking both positions.

Accordingly, General Halleck ordered a combined land and naval attack to be made upon Fort Henry. Flag Officer Foote, with seven gunboats, was directed to engage the batteries bearing upon the river, while General Grant was to move up from Cairo with his forces and engage the enemy on land, in flank and rear. The expedition started on the 5th of February. That night was stormy; the wind blew fitfully and the rain fell in torrents—a melancholy prelude to the morrow's strife. On the morning of the 6th the gunboats moved forward to the attack. General Grant's troops, too, struggled on through the deep

mud, eager to witness and participate in this, the first grand undertaking of Western troops ; but they failed to arrive in time. The fleet commenced and ended the battle, which lasted one hour and twenty minutes. Federal valor won the victory. The fort surrendered to Foote, and General Tilghman and staff, Captain Taylor and his company of sixty-six men, and sixteen invalid soldiers, together with eighteen guns of heavy calibre and the camp and garrison equipage, sufficient for fifteen thousand troops, fell into our hands.

The rebel force outside the fort, consisting of two brigades, and numbering two thousand six hundred and fifty-nine men,<sup>1</sup> under command of Colonel Heiman, escaped to Fort Donelson. This was the first decisive blow. The joyous intelligence was flashed throughout the country with electric speed, and bonfires and mass meetings of the enthusiastic people celebrated the event. In the army the news was equally exciting. The division still lay at Munfordsville, anxiously and eagerly awaiting the order which should set the column in motion, and lead them to victory and glory ; and when it was known that Fort Henry was ours, such a shout ascended as never before rolled its echoes along the shores of Green river.

The time for action drew near. General Mitchell arrived with his division on the 11th of February,

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1. See Official Report of Brigadier General Lloyd Tilghman to the Confederate authorities, dated February 12th, 1862—Official Confederate Reports, page 37.



and encamped on the south bank of the river. On the 13th instant it moved southward, towards Bowling Green. That day the camp was astir. The most active preparations were made for a movement. There was a thorough inspection of the troops in clothing and equipments. All the sick were sent to the General Hospital, now established and placed in the charge of Lieutenant Colonel William Wilson, of the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry. About nine o'clock that night marching orders were received.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers, although they knew not their destination, shouted with frenzied delight, and cheer ascended upon cheer, until the welkin rang. All seemed courageous. There was little of the brag spirit, but a cool, determined look, which is the sure indication of the true hero upon the battle-field.

The previous night was stormy—a commingling of rain and hail. The morning was intensely cold, and the ground frozen; indeed it was more like a winter's day than any yet experienced in Kentucky. Tents were struck, baggage loaded, and at the designated hours the different brigades were on the march. Hardly was the column well in motion ere the news came that General Grant's forces had attacked Fort

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2. The column was ordered to march to the mouth of Salt river, moving northward on the Louisville turnpike, in the following order:

General Rousseau's brigade at 4 o'clock, A. M.

" Johnson's " 7 " "

Colonel Kirk's " 9 " "

General Negley's " 11 " "

The troops were to take five days' rations (four cooked). Four days' rations were left for the sick.

Donelson, on the Cumberland river, and that the battle was still raging furiously.

This news had a magical effect upon the men. They marched in quick time, with arms at will, and the long chains of hills around them resounded with song and chorus. "FORT DONELSON!" was the cry. "Hurrah for battle!" Towards noon the sun began to impart its warmth, and the frozen ground soon became one vast sea of mud. But it did not dampen their ardor; it was a "forward movement," and all who could strove to keep with their regiments. As some became tired and footsore, the stronger relieved them of knapsack and musket, and cheerfully trudged on under the double burden. Others, unable longer to walk, received permission to fall from the ranks, and await the ambulances and baggage trains.

That night the command arrived at Upton, fourteen miles north from Munfordsville. Owing to the dreadful condition of the roads, the trains were unable to reach them; consequently, all lay upon the ground, with no covering overhead save heaven's blue vault. The night was clear but cold. The stars—the troops of beaming, twinkling stars, so bright, so pure—shed their spiritual magnificence upon man below, and bathed the landscape in a soft, refulgent light. Cedar rails and wood were plenty, however, and the blazing camp fires, together with blankets, made the rude bivouac comfortable.

Early on the morning of the 15th instant the report of the attack upon Fort Donelson was con-

firmed, and the utmost anxiety prevailed to hasten to the Cumberland and participate in that brilliant engagement. The morning wore away, but the command "Forward!" came not. Soon it was high noon, and still they were in camp. At one o'clock in the afternoon the order was given, and speedily the column was in motion. But bitter disappointment, chagrin and madness succeeded previous pleasure, gaiety and good-humor. The march was not forward, but backward—not to the assistance of the brave men who were storming Donelson and shedding undying glory upon Western arms, but probably to the old camping ground on Green river, there to idle away precious time, which should be occupied in moving upon, engaging and defeating the enemy. The glorious dream of battle, with its orders, formations, musketry roll, cannon flash, the charge with its serried line of glistening bayonets and shout of wild acclaim, the crimson tide of blood freely flowing on fair Freedom's altar, and the lofty inspiring peans of victory, proved an idle fancy, a chimera of vain hopes, which the morning sunlight and a soldier's obedience to orders dashed to the ground. The reason for this countermarch will be explained further on.

Six days after the surrender of Fort Henry General Grant moved with his command overland to Fort Donelson. Here was to be the scene of the next Federal success. As soon as another column of troops arrived, under convoy of the gunboats, the

battle commenced. Hotly and fiercely it raged, and again Federal valor triumphed. Late on Saturday afternoon General C. F. Smith led a column of our troops, like a phantom host, up the steep acclivity outside the fort, through a shower of grape and canister, and planted the "Stars and Stripes" amidst huzzas which rent the skies, on the ramparts of the rebel intrenchments. This was the turning point of the engagement, and the victory was decisively ours from that moment. On Sunday morning General Buckner, having been deserted by Generals Floyd and Pillow, those chivalrous pinks of Southern honor and knighthood, surrendered the fort. Nor was this victory a barren triumph. Outside of its immense importance as the key to Nashville and the heart of the rebel territory, there were other and tangible benefits. The surrender of nearly fifteen thousand rebel troops as prisoners of war added *eclat* to our success. One hundred and forty-six cannon were captured, most of them of heavy calibre. Nearly fifteen thousand stand of small arms also fell into our hands,<sup>3</sup> while the amount of military supplies captured was immense. The loss of the Confederate forces<sup>4</sup> is unknown, but from such data as could be

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3. Moore's "Rebellion Record," volume iv, page 175.

4. In a note appended to a Supplemental Report of General Gideon J. Pillow, he states that they sent up from over eleven hundred and thirty-four wounded; that a Federal surgeon's certificate, which he had seen, said there were about four hundred Confederate wounded prisoners in the hospital at Paducah, making in all fifteen hundred and thirty-four wounded, and that he was satisfied the killed would increase the number to two thousand. See Confederate Reports of Battles, page 82.

gathered, was nearly three thousand in killed and wounded. The Federal loss was two thousand two hundred.

The occupation of these two defences on the Tennessee and Cumberland rendered the evacuation of Bowling Green an imperative military necessity. The strong line of rebel defences was now broken, and the only safety of the rebel forces was in rapid retreat and the formation of a new defensive line south of Nashville.

This series of rapid and brilliant achievements, unexpectedly successful, rendered the reinforcements sent from General Buell's army unnecessary; General McCook's division was therefore ordered back, and directed to move immediately upon Nashville by way of Bowling Green.

On Saturday night, the 15th of February, the division encamped at Bacon Creek. The next morning was bright and beautiful, the air clear and sharp, and the ground rough and frozen. The division was early on the move, and the men in the happiest mood, for they had now been informed that the movement was not merely a countermarch, but that Bowling Green and Nashville were their destination. They crossed Green river on the newly completed railroad bridge, with colors flying, bands playing, and amidst shouts, huzzas, and the song of Dixie land. Having passed Rowlett's Station, they were in the country so long occupied by the rebel troops; and now the statements which had been repeatedly made by per-

sons coming within our lines while encamped north of the river, and verified by the several reconnoissances made to the front, were found to be true, and every soldier could bear witness to them.<sup>5</sup> For a distance of five miles the ties of the railroad had been torn up, placed in piles along the grade, and set on fire; the rails thrown crosswise on their centers, and thus left, had become bent, and in many cases were broken. The roads were obstructed with logs and an *abattis* of brushwood, to impede our progress, while in the ponds of water near the highway were plainly seen the carcasses of dead cattle, horses, dogs and swine. Outside of these ponds, or "sinks" as they are generally termed, it is difficult to obtain water, especially in sufficient quantity to satisfy the demands of a large body of troops, with its immense transportation. This inhuman butchery was done that the Federal forces might suffer from thirst; but it was as puny in effect as it was despicable in character.

The column moved on without interruption, excepting the delays consequent upon terrible roads, always poor, but much worse from the thawing of the frost. The Pioneer corps preceded the troops, and cut away all obstructions without hardly ceasing from their march.

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5. The division encamped near here on the night of Sunday, the 16th of February, and General Johnson ordered the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry to march and establish camp at Horse Cave, and to report for fatigue duty to Colonel Innis, of the First Michigan Engineers, who with his force had moved to this place with the advance of General Mitchell's command, for the purpose of repairing the railroad.

As General Mitchell's division advanced upon Bowling Green, the advance force of the Confederates retired to that stronghold. Meantime the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson had compelled the evacuation of all defences in Kentucky and north of Nashville. When General Mitchell arrived at Bowling Green but few troops remained. These had destroyed the bridges across Barren river, and were shipping and making ready to destroy the military supplies stored in the town—indeed they had already destroyed a considerable quantity; but his descent was so sudden and so admirably conducted that the rebels knew nothing of the presence of a Federal force in their immediate front—nay, within their own lines. Throwing forward a line of skirmishers, he seized every one of the enemy's pickets, and thus prevented any communication across the river. The first intelligence the enemy gained of his approach was from the bursting of a shell near the depot, where were congregated a considerable force of soldiers. This unexpected attack scattered the rebels in such consternation that they did not stop to destroy the trains loaded with the supplies, nor other valuable property, but ingloriously hastened to Nashville. A rope ferry was constructed, by which General Mitchell's command crossed the river. Having provided for his communications, he pressed on after the foe.

General McCook's division arrived at Bell's Tavern, on the Lonisville and Nashville Railroad, late in the evening of the 17th of February. Here it remained

until the 23d of February, engaged in clearing the tunnel, which the rebels had partially filled with earth and rock, and assisting the Michigan Engineers in cutting and laying ties for the new track, the supply of our army depending entirely upon this road.


The camp was rendered very disagreeable by the heavy rains, which had thoroughly soaked the earth; nor was it improved by the almost incessant rains that fell while they were encamped here. The tunnel cleared by the command is some six hundred feet in length, eighteen feet in width, and fourteen feet high. Huge masses of rock and earth were thrown into it from the cuts at its entrance, and several secessionists who, it was proved, had assisted in filling it, were by order of General McCook compelled to aid in clearing it out. These rebels, thus forced to work with their own hands, (an exercise in which they seldom indulged,) looked guilty as Macbeth, and would as soon have seen Banquo's ghost as our troops. They quailed beneath the hand of retribution so justly laid upon them, and writhed beneath the penalty it applied.

The action of the "Sovereignty Convention," so unwarranted and so gross in its usurpations of power in inaugurating a Provisional Government for Kentucky, literally rendered all government impossible. It suddenly set at naught and at defiance the legitimate administration of the State; it discarded the laws enacted for the protection of citizens in their rights of persons and property; it stirred up the



turbulent passions of an excited and deluded community, which had long slumbered in the form of traitorous sentiment and hostile passion ; it upheaved the basis of society, and threw its elements into a whirlpool of confusion ; it caused not only civil, fratricidal strife, but a total disorganization of social and political interests, amounting to little short of anarchy and ruin.

Under this revolutionary action of an oligarchial, slaveholding combination, who preferred the destruction of state and country to a defeat of their aims, humanity was compelled to witness terrible sights. Robbery walked with unblushing effrontery on the highway ; arson clouded the heavens with its black volumes of smoke, circling from the homes of patriot men ; murder no longer waited for the darkness of night to conceal its deadly blows, but stabbed its victim in the light of the noon-day sun. Armed bands of desperadoes, under the lead of guerrilla chieftains, scoured the country, ravaged town, village and farm, and hurled swift destruction upon every man known to entertain a single hope of the restoration of the Union, or to breathe an objection against the high-handed arrogance which in its damnable lust for power had deluged the land with a perpetual stream of blood. Many of the people, taxed unwarrantably, ruled despotically, compelled to pay tribute to their new masters, for the purpose of an unholy warfare, harrassed, persecuted, chased to the hills for the safety of their lives, at last, driven to despair,



abandoned their ruined homes and desolated fields, and with their wives and children fled to the National lines for security and the means of sustenance.<sup>6</sup> Viewing the record of these atrocities, we may well ask if this be the nineteenth century, the boasted era of a higher Christian civilization, and if in reality the Southern people are within its pale? In reflecting upon these things we see only the stain, the deep and damning disgrace, and forget that out of the depths of these horrors a new power<sup>7</sup>—another, a purer and holier greatness—is to spring, which shall

6. The following is mentioned as one of many cases used to enforce the success of the Confederate cause in Southern Kentucky.

On the 16th of January, 1862, the following notice was published in Barren county, Kentucky:

All free white males of Barren county, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, who will not volunteer in the Confederate service, who have a gun or guns, are required to deliver said gun or guns, within twenty days, in Glasgow, Kentucky, at the office of the undersigned, Inspector of Arms for Barren county. All persons within the ages above named, who have taxable property to the value of five hundred dollars and upwards, who have no gun, will attend at the office aforesaid, at the time aforesaid, and make oath to the same, and pay twenty dollars for which amount, and all guns that are delivered, the said Inspector will receipt, which receipt will be evidence of debt against said Confederate Government. All persons failing to comply with this requisition will subject themselves to a fine of fifty dollars and imprisonment until said fine is paid. The undersigned is authorized to receive, accept and qualify volunteers for the Confederate service, for the term of twelve months.

Z. McDANIEL,  
Inspector of Arms Barren County, Kentucky.

7. Our noble American poet, John G. Whittier, in a beautiful poem, full of sentiment and lofty devotion, entitled "Thy Will be Done," thus alludes to the great hereafter:

"Though dim as yet in tint and line,  
We trace Thy picture's wise design,  
And thank Thee that our age supplies  
The dark relief of sacrifice.  
Thy will be done!"

shed the halo of its glory to the uttermost parts of the earth. But the minute-hand, as it moves round upon the great dial-plate of time, will sooner or later point full to the hour when this great change shall be consummated. A nation, then, in grateful prayer will give thanks to God.

Bell's Tavern has been heretofore a place of summer resort. Nine miles away is the world-famed Mammoth Cave. Much nearer are two others, smaller indeed, but more beautiful—Diamond and Hundred Dome Caves. A large number of officers and men visited these great natural curiosities while the division remained here. All were amply repaid the trouble. The old guides were there, but the hotel was no longer a place of hospitality. Rebel soldiery had used it as barracks, and destroyed the most of its furniture.<sup>8</sup> So desolate then was the place that not a mouthful could be had to eat, to relieve the keen appetite which a ride and visit of three hours in the cave had created.

The railroad from Bell's to Barren river was unharmed. Hindman's movements were so rapid he had no opportunity to destroy it; had he attempted to do so a collision would have occurred between his forces and Mitchell's. Nor were the ponds or reservoirs longer filled with the fetid odor of decaying

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8. Its owner or proprietor, Mr. Owsley, was a staunch Union man, and was therefore a shining mark for rebel hatred. They occupied the place, consumed all the provisions in the establishment, destroyed the plate, and searched for and found much valuable service which he had hidden in the cave, to prevent rebel pillage. It is now (1864) reopened.

animal matter. These places had been in the rear of their own lines, and for this reason they were kept pure. Had time permitted, there is no reason to doubt that the outrage would have been repeated.

The encampment at this place was styled "Camp Fry."<sup>9</sup> While here Colonel Willich's Pioneer system was broken up. A rivalry, even jealousy, had sprung up between the Michigan Engineers and the men under his command, which resulted in their disbandment.<sup>10</sup> It is questionable whether this was a wise judgment, for at a somewhat later period the services of these men were again called into action under very disadvantageous circumstances. They had done much work, and did it well, and were entitled to credit for their faithful performance of duty; besides, the Michigan corps was only temporarily attached to the command, and was liable to be called to another field of action at any moment—a contingency which actually occurred shortly after. The record is not clear as to the source whence the order was originally

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9. The camp was named in compliment of Captain James B. Fry, General Buell's Chief of Staff, and subsequently the Provost Marshal General of the United States.

10. The following is a transcript of the order for breaking up the Pioneer system, as it appears in the division records:

CAMP FRY, FEBRUARY 19, 1862.

[*Special Order, No. 48.*]

The Pioneer company of the sixth brigade will be disbanded. The men will be returned to their respective companies, and the tools, wagons, horses and tents will be turned over to the quartermaster of General Johnson's brigade.

issued. It were better had the system remained intact.

On the 23d of February the division again moved southward,<sup>11</sup> and that night encamped upon the east bank of Barren river, opposite Bowling Green.

The appearance of the country from Bell's Tavern to Bowling Green is much finer than any portion northward. A long chain of low hills stretches away in a south-westerly direction. The valley is quite extensive, and for the most part is gently rolling, though sometimes as level as an Illinois prairie. The soil is a rich loam and clay resting upon a stratum of limestone. Timber is in abundance and variety, the different species of oak, chestnut and persimmon predominating. The planters appear quite wealthy, possessing large tracts of land, well cultivated and fenced. The houses are good—in many instances fine, and the barns are commodious. The slaves, too, appear more numerous than heretofore, and generally seem contented with their condition.<sup>12</sup> Barren river is a curious, meandering stream, and at this point is very winding in its course—first running nearly due

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11. At this time General Johnson was instructed to leave one regiment of his infantry to assist one regiment of General Rousseau's command in completing the repairs on the railroad. The Thirty-second Indiana Infantry remained for that purpose. There is no data to show what regiment of General Rousseau's brigade remained, if any.

12. The policy of the Government at that time was to exclude the negro from the camp; or if he chanced to be harbored there, the slave-master had free access to his property. Whatever might be the individual opinion of men, it could not militate against official instruction or military duty.

west, then making a right-angle, running north some half mile, then curving to the east, again running northward three miles or more, and finally taking a south-westerly direction, continuing its course.

The camp was named in honor of General Rousseau, and encompassed one of the enemy's field works,<sup>13</sup> a fort of considerable strength and commanding in position. The river was much swollen, having risen thirty feet above its usual level, owing to the immense quantity of rain which had lately fallen, and covered large tracts of land, giving it more the appearance of a large lake than a narrow stream. In such a stage of water bridge-building was impossible, so the troops rested quietly for the coming of steamers which were to take them across.<sup>14</sup> Three boats arrived on the 24th, and the embarkation at once commenced. It was a labor of great difficulty, and not devoid of danger.<sup>15</sup> It was accomplished,

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13. This fort is erected on Baker's Hill, and bears that name. It is pentagonal in form, and has the additional protection of a redan on the north front.

14. The coming of these steamers was a beautiful sight, and interesting to behold. For hours their course could be described by the smoke, which ascended in vapory clouds above the summits of the misty blue-capped hills which bordered the river; and when at last they arrived, every where the air resounded with the cheers of delighted soldiery.

15. The division crossed in the following order: 1st, the Michigan Mechanics and Engineers; 2d, General Rousseau's brigade, with two batteries of artillery; 3d, Colonel Kirk's brigade, with two batteries of artillery; 4th, General Negley's brigade, with two batteries of artillery; 5th, General Johnson's brigade, with one battery of artillery; Captain Gaddis, with cavalry company, to follow in the rear of General Rousseau's command. The division properly had but four batteries. There is no evidence to show what artillery the remaining three were—probably the artillery of General Mitchell's division. After the march has once commenced, the brigades move in *advance*, alternately.

however, with but very little loss, and with remarkable expedition, considering the obstacles attending it.<sup>16</sup>

BOWLING GREEN is a pretty town, of some four thousand population, and is situated upon the south bank of the river. It is considerably elevated from it, and nearly environed with hills. The valley is lovely, and the town, embowered in its masses of leafy foliage, with its back ground of rising acclivity green and wood-fringed, seems a gem in a gorgeous setting of emerald. It reminds the traveler of some of the little, stately, regal towns scattered here and there amongst the hills of ancient Burgundy. The streets are laid out at right-angles, mostly macadamized, while the side-walks are paved with brick or stone, or nicely graveled. The public buildings—town hall, court house and churches—wear a neat but sombre appearance, suggestive of olden times. It has been a place of much commercial importance, its exports of tobacco and pork being enormous. Previous to the 17th of September, 1861, industry had thrived, the avocations of the people were peaceful, trade was abundant, and prosperity smiled upon the town. That day the Confederate army occupied its hills, and girdled it with the picket line of a deluded soldiery. Communication with the North was that day destroyed in the defeat of Buckner's

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16. It was reported that one man was drowned by falling from the boat at night. I do not know his name. Two or three mules were also lost.

plan to capture Louisville, and this was followed shortly after by the destruction of the locks in Green river. That day pronounced the doom of its people. Business ceased, merchants failed, the country became impoverished, and everything was forced to subserve the purposes of the rebel host. Camps were established in the town, around it, and indeed every where, within a circuit of from two to three miles, the tented equipage could be seen—the constant reminder of an unnatural and inhuman contest, founded in the avaricious maw and insatiable lust of a few traitor knaves, who sought, by trampling upon the dissevered fragments of the nation, to lift themselves into power. Hospitals were built, disease extended, thousands died, and the suburbs of the place became one vast charnel house. On all its hills forts were constructed and cannon mounted; and although the Federal army had not beleaguered the stronghold, the people endured the perils, privations and anxieties of an actual siege; and when at last the Confederate forces were compelled to evacuate their position, they burned nearly all the business blocks upon the main square, several private residences, and the depot of supplies, with an immense amount of pork, grain, and other military stores.<sup>17</sup>

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17. It is impossible with our present data to state accurately what damage was sustained at this time. Neither General Mitchell's nor the Confederate reports are at hand to substantiate the newspaper accounts of the event. These are very conflicting and unreliable; neither are the "Histories of the Rebellion" much clearer upon this point—some asserting heavy destruction of property, engines, cars, etc.; others not mentioning it at all.



Thousands of old muskets and shot-guns, the ill-gotten gain of the Force Bill<sup>18</sup> which the rebel authorities had so rigidly enforced, were consumed. The safety of other buildings was only owing to the fact, that General Mitchell's guns spread consternation among the troops, and in the frenzy of fear they hurried to Nashville.

The fortifications of Bowling Green, at the period of the first Federal occupation, were nine in number. They encircled the town, each occupying the command of a separate hill, and taking its name from the hill upon which it is erected.<sup>19</sup> Five of these are upon the south side of the river, and are so located that a line drawn through them would describe half the arc of a circle. This would enable them, if necessary, to direct a powerful concentric fire upon any point in front of these defences. The one on the extreme right is a mere square redoubt; the others are regular temporary field fortifications, pentagonal in form, and well revetted with stone, wood and sod.<sup>20</sup> Gun-carriages were constructed, but from the size of the platforms they were, with but few exceptions, designed for guns of light calibre—twelve-pounders for the flanks, and barbettes for the

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18. See page 181.

19. The names of three of these are College, Vinegar and Baker.

20. These defences are considered temporary, in contradistinction to permanent structures; nevertheless, these were strong, and, strictly speaking, such works are intermediate between the two.

**salients.** In the College Hill fortification there were two very large platforms, evidently intended for sixty-four pounders.

It is questionable whether these works were ever completely mounted. Had they been, an attack in front would have been very hazardous, and assault or escalade almost, if not quite, an impossibility, for their flank and salients would have been well supported, and all approaches effectively swept. As it was, the Federal army had a decided advantage over the enemy, even should the attack have been direct. Our armament was better and of greater range than that of the foe, and our artillerists could have poured a shower of shot and shell into the rebel intrenchments, and yet have been comparatively unharmed by their fire. Their forts were not bastioned, and were without shelter, except that afforded by the interior slope of the parapet. In such a contingency no force could successfully withstand a well-directed fire upon their works. The siege would have been slow, but certain of triumph. Again, there were no intrenchments whatever to protect the position from attack in the rear. This alone condemns the defence. This, too, was the rebel capital of the State of Kentucky. The traitor conclave had promulgated their Declaration of Independence while in convention at Russelville, late in November, 1861, and on the 20th of that month established their plan of Provisional Government, and declared the Directory of affairs located at Bowling Green. The rebel Governor,

George W. Johnson, delivered here his inaugural address on the 26th of the same month. Here the capital remained until the evacuation of the place, when it was moved with the forces of the rebel General Hardee.

Central Kentucky was now free from the hydra which had so long sought her destruction. Her suffering Unionists again returned to their homes, and enjoyed under their own vine and fig tree the prosperity and protection afforded by the National Constitution. They were now free from those bands of murderers who, under the plea of fighting for the liberty of an oppressed land, indulged in all the excesses of depraved and unbridled passion. So outrageous were their depredations that even those of the most intense rebel sympathy hailed the arrival of the Federal troops as a deliverance from intolerable oppression. The majority of the citizens of Bowling Green and the country around were friends of the Union; but a banded class of the aristocratic, slaveholding few, as too often happens, controlled the people and crushed all opposition.

The movement again commenced on the morning of the 26th of February.<sup>21</sup> The troops marched light, leaving their knapsacks to be transported by the trains. The turnpike was in excellent condition, the sun bright and warm, the air balmy and genial,

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21. On the 24th instant Colonel John F. Miller, of the Twenty-ninth Indiana Infantry, returned from sick leave, and being senior in rank, superseded Colonel E. N. Kirk in command of the fifth brigade.

the men hilarious and rejoicing at the prospect of speedily treading the soil of Tennessee. That night they encamped near Franklin, Kentucky—a very pretty town, and the abode of many stanch and noble Unionists.<sup>22</sup> The Stars and Stripes floated from their houses, and wives and daughters stood upon the balconies or the way-side, cheering our soldiers on. When they met with such, all—officers and men—with glad-some cheer evinced their appreciation of the generous patriotism and loyalty which animated them; and indeed it was heart-cheering. Such are pleasing episodes in the long and weary march: they inspire the soldier with a new life, cause him to realize for what he is fighting and suffering; and as he moves with firmer tread, and carries his musket with firmer grasp, he inwardly exclaims: “If woman be with us, who can be against us?” No wonder that Louis Kossuth, the noble Magyar Chief, spoke with angel tongue when, in pleading for his bleeding country’s cause, he appealed to woman’s sympathy. He knew that, once awakened to the righteousness of his cause, naught could crush or resist it. How full of faith,

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22. Among so many true friends it seems invidious to make distinctions. But there was one family eminently worthy of notice. The name was Jones. The father was a lawyer, and a fine specimen of the Kentucky gentleman. The special object of rebel hatred, he frequently fled to the woods to save his life, and sometimes was concealed for days. When our forces advanced his house was open to all, and many a soldier received excellent meals free of charge from his kind lady. His daughters, Misses Eugenia and Hattie, accomplished ladies, greeted our arrival, standing by the road-side, wearing star-spangled aprons, striped with the red, white and blue. Such welcomes were inspiring to the soldiers, and gave them new heart, for they felt that in the “sunny land” all were not foes.

then, should be the confidence of the brave men now enlisted under the "old flag," fighting for the maintenance of the Union and the perpetuity of the Government! Never before, save in our own revolutionary struggle, was there a cause for which she more cheerfully consecrated her all upon the altar of her country. Under such magnificent auspices of success defeat is impossible.

The march of the division was rapid. It is only six miles from Franklin to the Tennessee line. The country is gently rolling until nearing Tyree Springs, when it grows more abrupt, and when within thirty miles of Nashville there rises the spur of a mountain range; but the broad turnpike winds gracefully over it, while the scenery afforded by the defiles and gorges of this range is romantic and picturesque. At Camp Negley, ten miles north of Nashville, the division rested. Here the troops were supplied with substantials for the inner man—the long march from Bowling Green having exhausted their rations; and next morning, the 2d day of March, the column was in motion for Nashville. It was a glorious day. All nature smiled in the primitive beauty of spring-time. Ahead extended the turnpike, its limestone surface looking like a mundane Milky Way, while on either side stretched the earth in billowy surfaces, carpeted with the beautiful and variegated hues of tender, opening flowers, forests, fields and lawns, now and anon interspersed with noble, majestic parks, in-wrapping with giant arms and clustering foliage some old

ancestral home, hoary with age and golden memories, or the seat of wealth, elegance and lassitude—scenes which compose the landscape of Nashville and its suburbs,—beautiful, indeed, in a time when

\* \* \* “The angel Peace  
Ruled regent of the world,”

but strangely in contrast with the mighty preparations for war now hastening around them.

Finally the city was seen, distinguishable by the lofty dome of the capitol building, which rose against the sky like the Sphinx of the desert, and then from the long line of troops rose one wild shout of joy, which, amidst the chorus of bands and the waving of colors, gave it the appearance of a magnificent triumphal entry.

The division encamped<sup>23</sup> near Edgefield, a small town on the north bank of the river, and opposite Nashville. The trains soon arrived, and all was ready for further action.

It is well, perhaps, in closing this chapter, briefly to state the political opinions of the people of Kentucky, so far as those opinions were entertained in the line of march of our army.

The outbreak of the rebellion, and the mighty preparations which the National Government made to crush it, at once drew strong lines of demarkation, both in public sentiment and individual opinion.

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23. The encampment was styled “Camp Weakley,” in honor of a prominent Union gentleman of Edgefield.

In Kentucky there are three classes of opinion—unconditional Union, conditional Union, and secession. Men of the first class appear to have a pure devotion for the Union. They seem to have consecrated their all upon the altar of the Constitution. Their motto is, "My country, right or wrong." Such men are intelligent, bold and determined, and have sons in the Federal army, ready to seal that devotion with their heart's blood. These men are akin to the patriots of the "olden time,"—of the time when the "sacred, God-like cause" of our revolutionary struggle for national existence and the up-rearing of the infant Liberty were espoused by those stern men without an *if* or *but*. And it appears that the spark then ignited is not yet extinct in the hearts of Kentuckians, but gleams now and then in all its original brilliancy—in all its vital power. There have been times when, with these men, thus loyal to the Government and unswerving in patriotism, "to be or not to be" was a practical question, liable to a speedy solution with a musket ball or bowie-knife. But with the departure of the rebel hosts these dangers disappeared.

The second class are conditional Unionists. These are ever active—ever watchful. With these the continued existence of the institution of slavery is the turning point of loyalty or disloyalty—of adherence to the Union or to the Confederate States. They watch with jealous eye every step taken by the President, Cabinet and Congress. Every measure ema-

nating from these authorities is discussed, and in their over-sensitive dispositions they oftentimes affix an interpretation upon the actions or suggestions of the President, Cabinet or Congress which no stretch of charity can justify. They say their destiny hinges on this: "Slaves are property: so long as the Government protects it, we will sustain its power; but as soon as the President, Cabinet or Congress attempt any measure of confiscation of that species of property, or its freedom from bondage, although with compensation to Union masters, we shall oppose its enforcement, even by force of arms."<sup>24</sup> They scout the idea of freedom, and picture the slave an infuriated being—incendiarism, rape and murder the result. They predict all the horrors of Saint Domingo. Such is the effect of slavery upon them. They watch it with the hundred eyes of Argus, and stand ready to grasp and protect it with the hundred arms of Briareus. Rather than lose this system—this delusion of wealth and aristocracy—they would palsy the mighty energies of the national arm in its efforts to preserve the national life, and forever destroy the grand structure of our Union—the glorious casket wherein reposes the jewel of Constitutional Freedom and Rights.

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24. This same spirit of semi-unionism was displayed but recently (in March), when Governor Bramlette, spurred by these men, sought to prevent the enrollment of slaves in Kentucky, pursuant to a draft, although the State was largely in arrear of supplying her quota of troops. This action was dangerous and revolutionary, and highly reprehensible. The great mass of the people of that State are willing to-day that the slaves shall assist in crushing the rebellion.



Happily, the long roll of momentous events which an over-ruling Providence has urged upon the nation, forcing upon it to-day the broad issue of GENERAL EMANCIPATION, has resulted in no such direful calamities as predicted, but, on the contrary, has far exceeded the public expectation in the standard of its morality and the *status* of its manhood.

The third class need but a word. They promptly denounce the policy of the National Government towards the Southern States for the last thirty years, characterizing it as a constant aggression on slavery, though guaranteed by the National Constitution, and a positive denial of even the necessities of its existence. They grossly pervert Northern sentiment upon the subject of slavery, quoting the platform of Garrison and Phillips, and declaring it to be the unanimous sentiment of the North.<sup>25</sup> Therefore they are opposed to the Government, and no longer desire a union with people who, in their opinion, constantly encroach on their legitimate social institutions.

Such was the condition of public sentiment in the earlier part of the war; and while the numerical strength of these opinions may have changed from one to the other, the same political sentiments, the

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25. Since the date to which this refers there has been a radical change in the public sentiment. At that time (the winter of 1861 and 1862) the great mass of the people believed that slavery was entitled to protection in the States where it existed by virtue of local, municipal law, and did not wish to encroach upon a single right affecting slave property, unless indeed it became by resistance or use a proper subject of confiscation. To-day public opinion is that the institution of slavery is the cause of the war, and that as such it must be crushed—that there can be no permanent peace until it is destroyed.


same hostile factions, the same conditions of fealty and enmity, exist among its people at the present time.

To the presence of this diversity of opinion Kentucky is indebted, more than to any other cause, for the frequent raids made within her territory—the ravages and destruction committed upon her people and property. Herself must drink, with such philosophic composure as she may, the bitter chalice of her sufferings and woe. Until the home-traitors are driven from her soil her history will be written in blood. This belongs to herself to do.

## CHAPTER VII.

**EVACUATION OF NASHVILLE, AND SCENES ATTENDING IT—ITS OCCUPATION BY FEDERAL FORCES—ARRIVAL OF THE SECOND DIVISION—NASHVILLE, ITS PEOPLE AND CHARACTER—CAMP OF THE DIVISION—SKIRMISHES AND RECONNOISSANCES—MARCH OF THE DIVISION FROM NASHVILLE TO THE BATTLE-FIELD OF SHILOH, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND INHABITANTS.**

THE fall of Fort Donelson was a disastrous blow to the Southern Confederacy. It compelled the evacuation of Bowling Green, and at once involved the surrender of Nashville. The gunboats controlled the Cumberland river, while General Buell's army advanced in front. The most terrible scenes attended the evacuation. At midnight, on the 15th day of February, General Pillow had telegraphed General Johnston that "THE DAY IS OURS!" and at daylight on the following day that "OUR FORCES MUST SURRENDER."




The morning passed away. The church bells had called the people to divine service, where they were to hear sermons of gratitude to Him who had in His providence vouchsafed their arms with so signal a victory, and saved their city from invasion by a ruthless foe! While the services were thus progressing, panic seized the multitude outside. The sad intelligence was now communicated to the people. Terror seized them for its victims. Men, women and children rushed from their homes, crowded the streets, and rent the air with their wails of anguish and despair. Imagination had run riot with common sense, and excited fear pictured the fate of robbery, murder, ravishment, arson—indeed, the utter annihilation of the city! With a moral debasement, disgraceful even among savages, the leaders of the Southern cause—its generals, orators, poets—the press, the school and the pulpit—had united in instilling into the hearts of the ignorant and deluded populace the most deadly hatred against the Federal soldiers. They characterized them as the Northern horde—the offspring and descendants of those old Norsemen, who in the long-ago of English history had been the terror and shame of the world, and asserted that if allowed to trespass on Southern soil, their progress through the “sunny land” would witness barbarities and atrocities worse than those ever perpetrated in the deepest, darkest night of English heathenism by Yngve, Alf, Alric or Eric.

Under such teachings it is no wonder that the

populace feared the mention of the Federal name, and considered the news of our approach as the evil forerunner of their destruction. Nor did the action of the authorities tend to mollify the panic. Leading citizens, Governor Harris among them, dashed excitedly through the streets on foaming chargers, proclaiming that Fort Donelson had fallen, that the enemy were close at hand, and that all who wished to leave must do so quickly, or be in the clutches of the foe.

Governor Harris proceeded to convene the Legislature, then holding its session in Nashville, adjourned it to Memphis, and with the members of that body and the archives of the State, fled from the city. This action only added fuel to the flame. Excitement now verged into mania—furor; and the people, by their own mad acts, came near their own ruin.

Meantime General Johnston moved through the city towards Murfreesboro, with the main part of his forces, declaring it utterly impossible to defend the place, and that it was better to surrender it to the enemy than sacrifice his army. General Pillow was placed in command of the rear guard, to save the Government stores and provisions. Such a scene of terrible confusion as ensued is without a parallel in American history. The higher classes of people destroyed the greater part of their property, dashing it into the street from their doors and windows, in some instances burning it, and after hastily gathering such articles as seemed absolutely necessary, hurried



from the city in coaches, carriages, wagons, carts, drays—anything and everything that could tend to expedite flight, going they knew not for what—they knew not where.

Mob law ruled the hour. Stores and houses were plundered; those who opposed the rapine were trampled under foot, and a few even murdered; military orders were entirely disregarded, and soldiers set at defiance.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the Federals not appearing, and night fast closing upon the wild passion of the day, the people being exhausted in the natural reaction of their own excited nerves, order and peace were restored.

The evacuation occurred on the 16th of February. The city was occupied by our forces on the 25th. *Nine days had elapsed.* Meantime all the rebels possessed—all they had not destroyed in the first heat of frenzy—was safely transported South. The Federal troops simply found the place and such persons as had chosen to remain. Perhaps the future

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1. "In the first wild excitement of the panic the storehouses had been thrown open to the poor. They were besieged by a mob ravenous for spoils, and who had to be dispersed from the commissariat by jets of water from a steam fire engine. Women and children even were seen scudding through the streets under loads of greasy pork, which they had taken as prizes from the storehouses. It is believed that hundreds of families, among the lower orders of the population, secured and secreted Government stores enough to open respectable groceries. It was with the greatest difficulty that General Floyd could restore order and get his martial law into anything like an effective system. Blacks and whites had to be chased and captured, and forced to help the movement of Government stores. One man, who after a long chase was captured, offered fight, and was in consequence shot and badly wounded. Not less than one million of dollars in stores was lost through the acts of the cowardly and ravenous mob of Nashville."—[See Pollard's *Southern History*, First Year of the War, p. 248.]

historian of our country—some Bancroft, Prescott, Hildreth, Motley or Kirk—will solve the mystery why, when no obstacle prevented, and the gunboat fleet so earnestly desired, permission was not given by General Halleck for its occupation.<sup>2</sup> At present the people cannot fail to consider it a fatal error in judgment, which deprived the Government of upwards of two million dollars in Confederate stores.

On Sunday morning, the 23d, the advance of General Mitchell's division entered Edgefield, and seized a little steamer used as a ferry. The Mayor of the city, Mr. Cheatham, immediately crossed in a skiff, to negotiate the terms of surrender, but there were no officers empowered to act in the matter. On the 24th instant Generals Buell and Mitchell both arrived in Edgefield, and sent a messenger to the city authorities, requesting an interview. The hour for the interview was fixed at eleven o'clock, A. M., on Tuesday, the 25th instant, the day of the arrival of the gunboat fleet. At the appointed hour the committee of citizens selected to make the surrender were met

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2. The following dispatch will show the first arrival of troops by the river:

NASHVILLE, FEBRUARY 25, 1862.

A. H. FOOTE, Flag Officer,  
Commanding Flotilla, Western Waters:

SIR:—Uncertain that my letter of the 23d instant reached you, I repeat that I departed from Clarksville from this point, by the request of Brigadier General Smith, commanding at Clarksville, and arrived here this morning, preceded by seven steamboats, conveying an army commanded by Brigadier General Nelson. The troops landed without opposition. The banks of the river are free from hostile forces. The railroad and suspension bridges are destroyed.

A. C. BRYANT, Lieutenant Commanding.

at the landing in Edgefield, and conducted to General Buell's headquarters, where the formal occupation of the city was given to Federal power. Soon the "Stars and Stripes" were floating from the capitol, proudly and majestically, the herald of a new rule and a better day.

In the surrender of the city General Buell pledged the committee that the rights of persons and property should be fully protected, and that State institutions (slavery) should not be molested. He therefore issued the following order, for the guidance of soldiers and citizens :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }  
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, FEBRUARY 26, 1862.

[*General Orders No. 13 a.*]

The General Commanding congratulates his troops that it has been their privilege to restore the national banner to the capital of Tennessee. He believes that thousands of hearts in every part of the State will swell with joy to see that honored flag reinstated in a position from which it was removed in the excitement and folly of an evil hour; that the voice of her own people will soon proclaim its welcome, and that their manhood and patriotism will protect and perpetuate it.

The General does not deem it necessary, though the occasion is a fit one, to remind his troops of the rule of conduct they have hitherto observed and are still to pursue. We are in arms not for the purpose of invading the rights of our fellow-countrymen anywhere, but to maintain the integrity of the Union, and protect the Constitution under which its people have been prosperous and happy. We cannot, therefore, look with indifference on any conduct which is designed to give aid and comfort to those who are endeavoring to defeat these objects; but the action to be taken in such cases rests with certain authorized persons, and is not to be assumed by individual officers or soldiers.



Peaceable citizens are not to be molested in their persons or property. Any wrongs to either are to be promptly corrected and the offenders brought to punishment. To this end all persons are desired to make complaint to the immediate commander of officers or soldiers so offending, and if justice be not done promptly, then to the next commander, and so on until the wrong is redressed. If the necessities of the public service should require the use of private property for public purposes, fair compensation is to be allowed. No such appropriation of private property is to be made except by the authority of the highest commander present, and any other officer or soldier who shall presume to exercise such privilege shall be brought to trial. Soldiers are forbidden to enter the residences or grounds of citizens on any plea without authority.

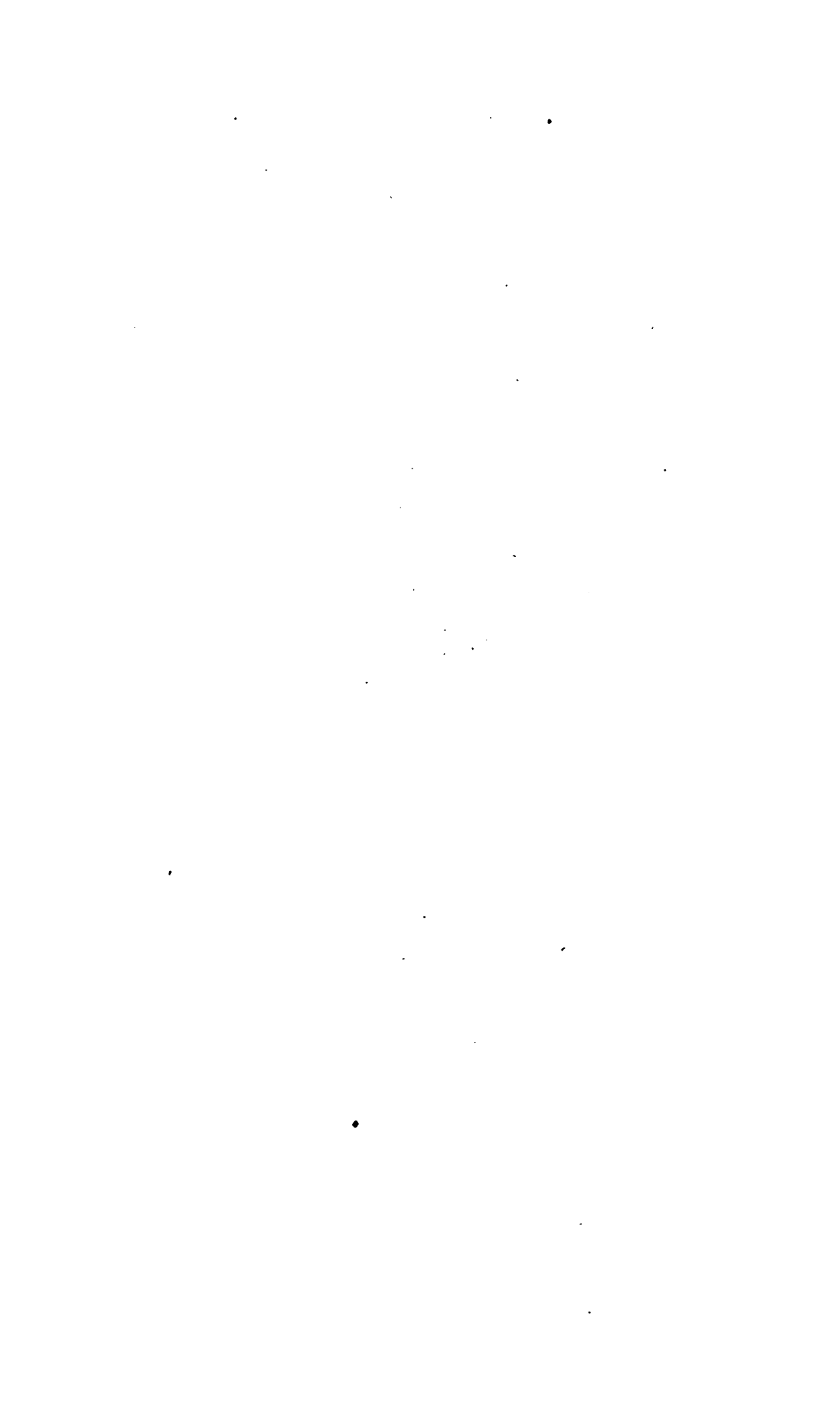
No arrests are to be made without the authority of the Commanding General, except in case of actual offence against the authority of the Government; and in all such cases the fact and circumstances will immediately be reported in writing to headquarters through the intermediate commanders.

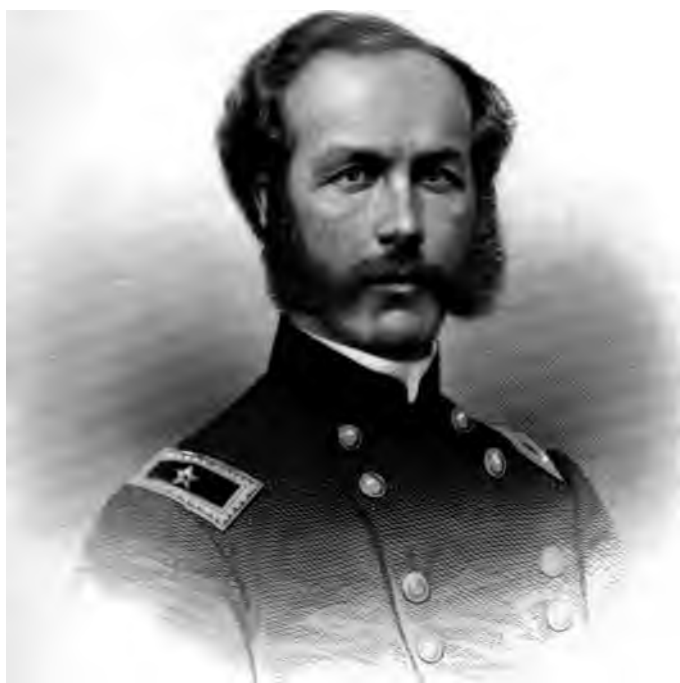
The General reminds his officers that the most frequent depredations are those which are committed by worthless characters who straggle from the ranks on the plea of being unable to march; and where the inability really exists, it will be found in most instances that the soldier has overloaded himself with useless or unauthorized articles. The orders already published on this subject must be enforced.

The condition and behavior of a corps are sure indications of the efficiency and fitness of its officers. If any regiments shall be found to disregard that propriety of conduct which belongs to soldiers as well as citizens, they must not expect to occupy the posts of honor, but may rest assured that they will be placed in positions where they cannot bring shame on their comrades and the cause they are engaged in. The Government supplies with liberality all the wants of the soldier. The occasional deprivations and hardships incident to rapid marches must be borne with patience and fortitude. Any officer who neglects to provide for his troops, or separates himself from them to seek his own comfort, shall be held to a rigid accountability.

By command of General Buell.

JAMES B. FRY, A. A. G., Chief of Staff.





Ex. 17. A. H. P. 1862

John C. Stackhouse.  
Brig. Genl. U.S.A.

While the division lay at Edgefield, Colonel John C. Starkweather, commanding the First Wisconsin Infantry, was appointed Provost Marshal of the place, a part of his own regiment doing provost duty—a position which he held until the 16th of March, when he was relieved and rejoined his command.


The 3d of March was a dreadful day: the heavens were darkened with clouds, the snow fell in blinding flakes, and the wind blew from the north, cold and keen. Amidst this severe tempest of snow and wind the division crossed the river by regiments, each patiently waiting its turn for embarkation. The splendid railroad and wire suspension bridges had been destroyed by the rebel host, and in the destruction of the latter was involved the heritage of the orphan daughters of the brave but misguided Zoll-coffer. Night had come ere the division was all on the Nashville side, and in fact the artillery did not all cross until the 4th.

The passage of the troops through the city was a splendid sight. The regiment moved with the precision of regulars, preceded by instrumental and martial bands, which played those good old national airs—so cheering to the loyal few, so distasteful to traitors—"Hail Columbia," "The Red, White and Blue," "Yankee Doodle," "Star-spangled Banner," also the new but highly popular air of "Dixie Land." The presence of our troops was not welcome. Hosts of Southerners—aiders, abettors and sympathizers of the rebel cause—lined the pavements

and looked the hate they dared not speak. But what cared the soldiers? Not a straw! They felt assured their cause was just, and placed full confidence in the power of ball and bayonet to force the traitors, if necessary, to an obedience of the Constitution and laws of the land.

Nashville is a fine city of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and has been the seat of a heavy commercial trade with the South and West. It is considerably elevated from the river, and stands upon rolling ground. Its public buildings are good and substantial structures. The State House is a magnificent edifice, and standing upon an eminence near the center of the city, commands a splendid view of the country for miles around. Many of the private residences in the city and its environs are palatial in appearance, and are surrounded by beautiful parks, evincing taste and wealth.

The citizens, for the most part, were intensely malignant in their detestation of our Government and our troops, and omitted no occasion, when possible and not constrained by fear, to offer indignity and affront to our men. The women, especially—shielded, as they thought, by the privilege of their sex—sought occasions to vent their spleen. Conservative as was General Buell's policy—desirous as he was to give them no cause for fear, by reason of too strict a surveillance upon their conduct—he could not brook the indignity which was offered, even to his own person, as well as to his soldiers, and therefore gave such



instructions to his Provost Marshal as to a great extent silenced it.


Here, as elsewhere, were a few Union men—men who had adhered to the old time-honored principles of our Government, through good and evil report—through all the vicissitudes of armed strife; and now that the “old flag” again waved in triumph over their city, they flocked to our headquarters and rendered most valuable assistance to our authorities in matters of administration. Besides, Andrew Johnson, the sterling patriot of East Tennessee, had been appointed by the President Military Governor of the State, and many of these worthy men occupied positions of influence and trust under him. They knew well this heart of rebeldom—knew who were its supporters and who its enemies. Thus their services were important, and contributed much to the restoration of a just administration of affairs.

The division encamped four miles south of Nashville, near the Franklin turnpike. The camping ground was mostly a splendid park of forest trees. Beneath was a beautiful lawn of velvet green. A fine creek flowed through the encampment, affording an abundance of excellent water; and the soldiers generally wished that, were they to remain long any where, it might be here. The camp was named “Andy Johnson,” in honor of the old patriot who now was to administer affairs in place of the traitor Governor, Isham G. Harris. There was but little excitement while here. Frequently a few of Mor-

gan's or Scott's rebel cavalry would make a spirited dash upon our lines, kill, wound or capture a few men, and away out of the reach of danger.

On the morning of the 7th of March nearly a company of rebels, under the disguise of our uniform, rode up to the picket line, where was posted Company C of the Thirtieth Indiana Infantry, and pretending to be friends, one of them, apparently an officer, remarked to the captain that there must be a different disposition of the pickets. All at once the rest dashed upon the company and carried off four men! This affair was so boldly and rapidly executed that before any resistance could be made the rebels were out of musket range.

About six o'clock in the morning of the 9th of March, while Companies B, C, E and G of the First Wisconsin Infantry were on picket south of Nashville, Company B, Captain Henry A. Mitchell commanding, was attacked by about one hundred of Scott's Louisiana Cavalry. The outpost line extended from a ridge a little to the south and west of the encampment of the fifth brigade, thence north across a dirt road to Granny White's turnpike, thence west through open ground to the base of a chain of hills running nearly north and south, the entire distance being about three-fourths of a mile. The center or rallying point, in case of attack, was at a stone wall on Granny White's turnpike. At the time stated there suddenly appeared, emerging from a gorge between two of the hills southward, a company of




infantry. They advanced in column toward the picket line—approaching, in fact, within fifty yards of it, between the right and center of the company. The pickets hesitated about firing, thinking from their appearance, and the bold manner in which they advanced, they were our own men just returning from a scout. They then deployed in line of battle and fired upon our men—the squad stationed at the rallying point, and those between them and that point. They discharged some fifty shots, a portion of the picket guard rallying on the center, in the face of a galling cross-fire. The left of the company also rallied with all possible speed upon this point, and making a decided stand, all firing their muskets once, and some twice, the rebels retreated to the woods at the base of the hills, bearing away three of their dead comrades and four others severely wounded.<sup>3</sup> Soon after a body of cavalry, some two hundred strong, came bearing down upon them at full gallop, evidently to renew the attack. Meantime a portion of the pickets, eight or ten in number, retreated slowly until they reached the camp of the Thirty-fourth Illinois, and reported the facts to Colonel Kirk. He informed Colonel Miller, commanding the brigade, and asked permission to move to the front. The “long roll” was sounded, and in less than five minutes detachments from the brigade were in motion

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3. Company B, First Wisconsin, lost one man killed, Private W. Greenly. Corporal N. A. Smith was mortally wounded, and John Fitzgerald severely wounded.



for the scene of attack, the Thirty-fourth Illinois moving in advance. Arriving upon the ridge, near where the attack had been made, and no enemy being visible, the command was formed in line and awaited orders. Soon a portion of the Thirty-fourth Illinois and one other regiment of the brigade were deployed in skirmish line, and proceeded to a reconnoissance of the country. The rest of the command was formed in reserve, and moved within close supporting distance. But the enemy had fled to Nolensville; and having scoured the country for nearly two miles in front, further pursuit was abandoned. This affair created much excitement, and before it ended nearly the whole division was under arms, and a portion of the other brigades was also abroad, hunting the foe. This attack was dastardly. No general attack was intended; it was merely a dash upon an exposed part of the line, to gratify a lust for butchery. Such acts are not legitimate; they are contrary alike to the plainest precepts of humanity and the recognized code of modern warfare—expressly interdicted in this struggle in general orders by the commanders of each side. But the foe are unscrupulous, and would set at defiance not only human law but the law of God, if possible, to accomplish their unholy work. No where do such acts constitute war. No conventional rule can embrace them. It is downright, cold-blooded murder, and the civilized world will brand it as such. Humanity, like Campbell, in the “Speech of the Chorus,” may well exclaim—



"Hallow'd earth ! with indignation  
Mark—oh, mark the murd'rous deed  
Radiant eye of wide creation,  
Watch the damned parricide !"

In Nashville all was bustle and activity. Communication was opened both by railroad to Louisville and by river to the Ohio. Immense quantities of Government stores constantly arrived—commissary, quartermaster and medical,—and every indication was that another forward movement would soon take place. The troops were again thoroughly armed and equipped, well rested from the severe marches endured from Bowling Green, and once more anxious to move upon the enemy. Their wish was speedily granted. Soon a march ensued, which in less than a month led to one of the most bloody and magnificently fought battles ever waged upon the American continent.


The rebel General Johnston now established his line in such a manner as to co-operate with General Beauregard, for the defence of the valley of the Mississippi. This new line of defensive operations extended from Island Number Ten, in the Mississippi river, through Corinth, thence along the Mississippi and Alabama State lines to Chattanooga, Tennessee, thereby protecting Memphis and the entire railroad system of the South-West. To destroy this line and obtain possession of this railroad system was the object of the next campaign.

Upon the arrival of our forces in Nashville, General Johnston retreated southward and westward

with his command, and effected a junction with the forces of General Beauregard. Other rebel forces were here concentrated: Polk's divisions from Columbus, Bragg's from Pensacola, and a considerable force from Mobile. By the 1st of April these united forces were in the vicinity of Corinth. Their line extended along the Ohio and Mobile railroad from Bethel to Corinth, and on the Memphis and Charleston railroad from Corinth to Iuka. This army was by far the most numerous the enemy had yet concentrated upon a single battle-field. At Corinth they prepared for action.

General Grant, upon the fall of Fort Donelson, moved with his troops up the Tennessee, and established camp on the west bank of the river, at Pittsburg Landing. He was there to watch the movements of the enemy and await the arrival of General Buell's forces, when the united armies were to move upon the enemy at Corinth.

Meantime General Buell had directed General Mitchell, upon the earnest solicitation of that gallant and lamented officer, to move upon Murfreesboro, thence to Shelbyville, preparatory to an attempt to destroy the railroad communication of the enemy on the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad, over which immense supplies and reinforcements were sent from the West to the rebel army in the East. It was also specially important that this line should be cut, to prevent the reinforcement of troops from the East in the contest evidently near at hand.



It seemed a forlorn hope for a single division to dream of success in such a fearful undertaking—clearly beyond the idea of *probability*, hardly within the range of *possibility*; but with hearts full of patriotism and desire for the success of our cause, he and his noble division started on their mission.

On the 16th of March the other divisions of General Buell's army were ordered forward. The SECOND DIVISION led the movement, but not entire, as heretofore. General Negley's brigade was detached on this day, and remained for the defence of Nashville until the 29th of March, when it entered upon an independent and highly important and arduous campaign, which will be hereafter described. Colonel John F. Miller, too, commanding the fifth brigade, was ordered to the charge of the barracks in the city, and Colonel E. N. Kirk again succeeded him in the command of the brigade.

The route of the division lay along the Alabama and Tennessee railroad. This road passes through many of the richest and best cultivated counties in the State. Although it was March, a month in which the people beyond the Ohio generally realize all the storms and bleakness of a Northern winter, in Tennessee all seemed beautiful as May. The fields were green, the trees were clothed in their summer verdure, the birds caroled their notes of praise, and everything in nature seemed gladsome, peaceful and happy. The country is diversified in aspect; now and then abrupt and hilly, sometimes gently rolling,

and anon level as a plain. In some places it appeared one wide-spread garden. Long lines of fields inclosed with neatly built fences, and sometimes by thrifty hedges or majestic shade trees—oak, chestnut, maple and whitewood; the planter's aristocratic residence, with its magnificent surroundings—parks and lawns, knolls and dells, and silver streams; the negro's cot, sometimes shingled, sometimes straw-thatched; noble old forests and laughing, dancing rivers—such scenes as these constantly flitted before the vision, charming the senses and satisfying the soul with beauty.<sup>4</sup>

The march was rapid. The division passed through several beautiful towns, among them Franklin, in Williamson county, a place of some three thousand population, but not a cheer or word of greeting was heard. When Tennessee held her State election, to determine whether she should side with the Union or the Confederacy, it is reported that this county did not give a single vote for secession—it was loyal to the heart; but after the State, through the action of her recreant Governor, Isham G. Harris, had broken the bonds of Union, then the Calhoun doctrine of allegiance to the State—the extremest radicalism, in fact, of that doctrine—seems to have taken possession

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4. The soldier who appreciates the glories of nature, as he passed through this gorgeous landscape, could but say with Thomson, in his "Seasons,"—

"Heavens! what a goodly prospect spreads around  
Of hills, and dells, and woods, and lawns, and spires,  
And glittering towns, and gilded streams—till all  
The stretching landscape into smoke decays."

of the senses of the people, and they stood forth fully and determinedly committed to the secession folly.

Spring Hill is another town, pretty in appearance, but full of enemies to our Government. Here, as in Franklin, scores of men, dressed in citizens' clothes, stood upon the walks and gazed sullenly upon our troops as they passed. Fair ladies, too, stood upon the verandas and balconies, or at the windows of their homes, viewing them with mingled emotions of hate and sorrow. Many were observed to wipe away the gathering tear-drop, which, unbidden, sought to flow, thus attesting their inward grief. Perchance they thought of husbands, brothers and sons, who, far away by the beautiful Tennessee, were waiting to engage our heroes, now marching joyously southward, in the deadly rencontre! And did they implore the aid of a just God in their doomed cause? Or perchance they were thinking of the hundreds of dear ones but recently slain in the memorable strifes of Forts Henry and Donelson, and the sight of their supposed enemies burst anew the wounds of their hearts, and forced upon their minds in stronger relief the picture of Confederate disaster and National triumph.

On the afternoon of the 17th of March the division encamped at Rutherford's Creek. The encampment was styled Camp Kirk, in honor of the commander of the fifth brigade. A considerable force of rebel cavalry had preceded us from Franklin, for the purpose of destroying the bridges and impeding our

progress; and although a squadron of our cavalry had been sent forward to drive the enemy and prevent the destruction, it was not successful. The rebel force had the bridges all ready for combustion, and as soon as our cavalry came in sight they applied the match and the ruin was wrought. They then fled, pursued by our cavalry, who dashed through the creek, but they succeeded in crossing the river at Columbia, and also destroying that bridge before our men could prevent it. The bridge at Rutherford's Creek was a wooden structure, trestle and covered, and about one hundred and fifty feet in length. Before the division again advanced it must be rebuilt, for the passage of artillery and transportation, and Colonel Kirk's brigade was ordered to perform this work.

On the 20th instant General Johnson was directed to march and establish Camp Stanton, in honor of the Secretary of War, on the north bank of Duck river, opposite Columbia, and make immediate arrangements for the rebuilding of the bridge at that point. General Rousseau's brigade soon followed. The bridge at Rutherford's Creek was constructed under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel Amos Bosworth, of the Thirty-fourth Illinois, an active, energetic officer.<sup>5</sup> General Johnson's brigade, mean-

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5. Lieutenant Colonel Amos Bosworth, of the Thirty-fourth Illinois Volunteers, was born at Royalton, Vermont, on the 12th of April, 1831. He received a common English education, and at an early age entered the employment of Leonard Andrews, a plow manufacturer. In 1858 his father removed with his family to Grand de Tour Illinois. Shortly

time, was busily engaged in constructing a bridge at Columbia. And here the necessity of the pioneer system, which had been destroyed at Bell's Tavern, became manifest. The Michigan Engineers no longer accompanied the division; the tools of the corps were, as previously stated, turned over to the quartermaster's department; and now the country must be scoured to find implements suitable to the work—

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afterwards young Bosworth formed a partnership with Andrews, and continued business under the firm name of "Andrews and Bosworth." In conjunction with E. N. Kirk and C. N. Levanway, the Rock River Regiment was organized, and he was elected its lieutenant colonel.

Colonel Kirk being soon placed in command of a brigade, the care of the regiment devolved upon him. He was a man of extraordinary energy of character and great practical talents. He superintended the construction of several bridges which the rebels had burned, and by his zeal in hastening the completion of the bridge at Rutherford's Creek was doubtless one of the means in the hands of Divine Providence of saving General Grant's army in the ever-memorable battle of Shiloh, on the 6th of April, by the rapid movement of General Buell's column marching to his assistance.

But this was the colonel's crowning work. Nearly all one day he worked in the water, waist-deep, from which he took a severe cold, ending in a fever. He continued in command until arriving at Columbia. He was borne thence to Savannah, Tennessee, in an ambulance. During the battle of the 7th instant he lay at Savannah, in the delirium of fever, and occasionally hearing the thunder of artillery from that carnage field, he would rouse up and insist upon going to Pittsburg Landing, to assume command of the regiment. He now continued to fail rapidly, and was removed from Savannah; but upon reaching Dixon, Illinois, only five miles from his home, he was so low the journey could not be continued longer. He died of typhus fever, at the residence of his friend W. C. Andrus, on the 23d of April, 1862. He was buried at Grand de Tour on the 27th of April, under the auspices of the Freemasons, of which order Lieutenant Colonel Bosworth was an honored member. He was a man of unblemished character, of excellent business reputation, had many warm personal friends, and ranked high in the confidence of the community. His death caused general grief, and the people wore the aspect of mourning. His loss was untimely, but his death a noble one.

"Bury him where the brook shall sing  
His requiem, and returning spring  
Shall deck his peaceful grave;  
And Heaven shall watch, with starry eyes,  
The mound under the starry skies,  
Where sleeps the bravest brave."



a task not devoid of difficulty, for the South is not proverbial for its abundance of mechanical handicraft. Great exertions were made, however; what tools could be obtained were gathered, and the bridge hastened to completion under the direction of Colonel Willich. It was a pier structure, and some four hundred feet in length. At the same time a pontoon was being built, and over it the divisions of Generals Crittenden and Thomas passed, also the greater part of General McCook's. Previous to the completion of the pontoon a small flatboat had been used and a rope ferry extemporized.

As soon as our forces encamped on the north bank, Scott's Louisiana Cavalry, which had been encamped there for some time, fell back towards Mount Pleasant. The town was therefore clear of an armed force.

On the 25th of March some one of the staff of General McCook, with a suitable guard, proceeded to reconnoitre the town, and discovered among other things a rebel gun factory, with engines, lathes, quite a stock of gun metal, and some two hundred guns in different stages of completion. On reporting the circumstance to General McCook an order was issued to Lieutenant Colonel Bosworth, of the Thirty-fourth Illinois, to detail a portion of his command to take possession of and hold the factory. Accordingly, Lieutenant S. B. Dexter, of Company D of that regiment, a faithful officer, with fifteen men of the same company, proceeded on this mission. This

squad of men alone held the town that night. The next day Companies B and F, Captains Bristol and Van Tassel, of the same regiment, were sent over to the town—one moving to the gun factory, the other to the occupation of the Court House. On the same day the entire regiment was detailed to guard the town, and Major Charles N. Levanway was appointed Post Commandant. The duties of this office are irksome and difficult of execution. It requires a man of considerable executive and administrative ability to conduct it well. Major Levanway, however, was a man well adapted to such a position. Educated, a rapid and correct reader of human nature, versed in the obligations and requirements of the place, sociable, yet firm and imperative, he did much in the few days he was in command to instil within the minds of its citizens a respect for our soldiery, if not for our cause.

COLUMBIA has a population of four thousand. It is beautifully located upon rising and rather bluff ground. The Court House Square<sup>6</sup> is the center of

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6. On the 28th of March there occurred a rather pleasing episode in soldier life. The "Stars and Stripes" were erected upon the Court House. The Thirty-fourth Illinois had the honor of this occasion. Some of the boys procured the flag, others hewed the staff, while others still erected it. As the folds of the "old flag" floated proudly and grandly on the breeze, Colonel Bosworth called to the regiment, formed in line in front, to give three cheers. They were given, followed by a "tiger." The whole regiment then sung the "Star-spangled Banner." It is upon such an occasion that the noble sentiment, the thrilling power, and the deep significance of this grand old song is truly appreciated. Captain Daniel McCook, A. A. G. to the General, then called for three cheers for "Honest Abe, the Statesman of Illinois—the patriot who dared defend his country's flag!" These, too, were given with a force which showed they were meant, that the individual life was merged into that of the

the town. From this square the streets diverge at right-angles, and are well ornamented with shade trees. The private dwellings are neat, and present a comfortable appearance. This town is famous throughout the South for its educational institutions. It is the seat of Franklin College, and of three academic and collegiate ladies' institutes. The present unhappy contest, however, has crushed these interests. The college is closed, and for the past five months had been used by the rebels as a hospital. In times past, when the angel Peace was regent of the land, the usual attendance at these schools was seldom less than one thousand, and very frequently twelve hundred students. Many of the distinguished men of the South now notorious for their traitorous exertions to destroy the Government of our fathers were educated here. Here is the old home of ex-President Polk, and here he resided up to the time of his election to the Chief Magistracy. It is a plain little cottage, in a pretty green, and somewhat elevated from the street. Since then it has been the residence of a Doctor Pillow, a rank secessionist, who fled upon our approach. A little way from town resides the Honorable A. O. P. Nicholson, of Cass-Nicholson notoriety.

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nation, and that the destruction of both is necessary ere the proud emblem of our faith can be humiliated or the national unity dissevered. Nor were the cheers confined to the Thirty-fourth Illinois. The brave boys of Rousseau's and Johnson's brigades, across the river, seeing the banner waving in the air, added their shouts to the joyous acclaim. The feelings of the rebel citizens who thronged the corners of the square need not be described.

The Court House gave evidence of miscellaneous business. In one part Justice was once accustomed to dispense her favors; in another part were legal offices and a printing office, while still higher was a Freemasons' Lodge, a Bell-and-Everett club-room and the room of an Antiquarian Society. This last was a fund of curiosity. It had been very roughly used previous to the arrival of our troops. Books were scattered around, and files of letters lay here and there among the rubbish of the floor. In this collection of old correspondence were found letters from our leading men as far back as the time of the Revolution. There were letters from Nathaniel Green, Baron De Kalb and Major General Caswell, also letters from other men of later fame, as Judge Greer, Felix Grundy, Bell, Jones, Benjamin, Yancey, Barksdale, Zollicoffer and Bailie Peyton. How thrilling the recollection! What mementoes of these several characters! Some of these letters will be treasured for their priceless worth, as written by true devotees of the Union; others with strange fatality will recall the names of those upon whose brow the American people—aye, the world—have branded deep the damning word—**TRAITOR!**

In the afternoon of the 31st of March, the bridges having been completed across Duck river, and the means of passage for artillery and trains thus insured, the division was ordered to march. The divisions of Generals Nelson and Crittenden had already advanced, moving in the direction of Savannah, Ten-

nessee, to effect the contemplated junction with the forces of General Grant, preparatory to the attack upon the enemy.<sup>7</sup> That night the command bivouacked two miles from Columbia, on the Mount Pleasant turnpike. The next day, the 1st of April, the march was continued without intermission. Until after passing Mount Pleasant the country was rich—splendid in soil, in timber, in running brooks; but the inhabitants were bitter secessionists. Among the many palatial residences passed while on this turnpike was that of the rebel General Gideon J. Pillow. The surrounding plantation is said to be one of the best in Tennessee. From Mount Pleasant the country became more rugged—sometimes hilly, sometimes mountainous; the soil was poorer, occasionally presenting a worthless yellow clay; the timber was more scraggy, seldom heavy and luxuriant in growth; the people were poor, humble farmers, few indeed owning a slave; but here, in this—this wild, rough section of country, where Dame Nature had not deigned to bestow her richer charms—where life was the result of honest toil, and the hearthstone, with its family circle, was the laborer's only comfort and joy, were the evidences of unalloyed

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7. On the 29th of March the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Battery was detached from the division, and ordered to report to Colonel James Barnett, commanding the artillery reserve. It proceeded to the field of Shiloh with General Thomas's division. On the same day the Thirty-fourth Illinois was relieved from guard duty in the town; and when the division started on the march, General Johnson, who had been seriously sick, returned to Nashville, and Colonel William H. Gibson, of the Forty-ninth Ohio, assumed command of the sixth brigade.

fidelity to the "old flag," and undying faith in the final success of our cause. Ever and anon some lane or gateway was thronged with the young and old of both sexes, eager to witness the march of our troops as they pushed on to the valley of the Tennessee. Here innocent childhood and the middle-aged gazed upon a sight they had never witnessed before. Old gray-haired men and women hastened to the road-side, and with streaming eyes saluted the national emblem as it gracefully flowed in the breezes of heaven, and in a manner more touching than pen can describe, welcomed its appearance as the harbinger of their deliverance. With them the long-looked-for hour had come. Such demonstrations excited the soldiers' sympathy, and the native woods of that grand old land—grand, because moulded to Industry and Freedom—echoed with the commingled cheers of the armed and unarmed patriot bands. Such is the lofty devotion to Liberty displayed in all ages of the world—such are the furnace fires in which a nation's life is formed anew ere it enters upon a higher, nobler, holier destiny.

The progress of the command was slow, owing to the bad condition of the roads: they were either hilly, rough or muddy, and its progress was only from six to twelve miles each day. This weary and toilsome march was continued from the 2d of April until the morning of the 6th. The column was then distant twenty-one miles from Savannah, and it was hoped night would witness its arrival there. The

day was bright and beautiful; the sun's warmth was rapidly drying the roads, and the men were rejoicing in the prospect of that night bathing in the Tennessee. Suddenly the booming of cannon resounded among the hills. Was it a battle? Upwards of an hour it continued—boom! boom! boom! It must be a battle! "Why don't we have orders to hasten on?" was the anxious query of the soldiers. "Grant knows we are coming, so he is pitching in with his forces, that he may have all the honor himself. It will be just our luck not to get into a fight in this war. We'll go home without smelling gunpowder!" said others. The hours were not many when these brave, impetuous men learned fully and sadly the terrible lesson of war. About nine o'clock an orderly rode along the lines, communicating the order, "FORWARD!" Baggage trains were to be left behind with a suitable guard; each man was to load his musket, and provide himself with forty rounds of cartridge; ammunition wagons and ambulances only to continue the march. This was glorious news. But who was to remain behind, as guards for the train? That was a serious question. It must be decided by imperative orders, and thus many who were anxious to participate in the coming conflict were denied the privilege. Rapidly these arrangements were effected, and in half an hour the whole column was again in motion. The roar of artillery was heard at short intervals during the entire day. The pulse of every soldier was quickened into a bound, and almost

unconsciously, despite the rough road over towering hills, the common time was increased to a quickstep. Night came at last, and the conflict ended. The division, weary and exhausted with the incessant march, gradually gained the town. General Rousseau's brigade arrived about seven o'clock, Colonel Kirk's at eight, and Colonel Gibson's at ten. Two brigades of the command were embarked speedily as possible on steamers, and soon after daylight reached the battle-ground of Pittsburg Landing. Colonel Gibson's brigade being the rear of the division, and impeded by the shipment of artillery and ammunition, could not embark until morning. It arrived at the Landing about eleven o'clock on the morning of the 7th. The night of the 6th brought with it a heavy thunder storm, during which our troops, but slightly protected, (having in their eagerness to advance in the morning left in many cases both overcoats and blankets,) were soaked with rain, which made their condition miserable in the extreme.

Savannah is an uncouth town, a county seat, but hardly worthy the name. The streets run hither and thither; there are no side-walks, occasionally a plank. The residences, with one or two exceptions, are very unpretending. There is no church, and the Court House is a curious specimen of architecture. But that night, and for many a subsequent day and night, it presented a melancholy scene. Early in the evening the wounded were brought in boat-loads from the battle-ground, and quickly houses, stores, every



place that afforded shelter, were converted into hospitals for their use. Hundreds of patriot men lay bleeding, mutilated in every conceivable form, but with lips compressed, emitting scarcely a groan as an index of inward pain, only calling "Water! water! water!" This was given as fast as possible, and many a comrade of the SECOND DIVISION emptied his canteen among them, assuaging their thirst and cooling their parched lips, recking little whether on the morrow he, too, would need this kindly Samaritan service.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

THE battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, will ever be remembered in American history as a field whereon was displayed consummate generalship, the most obstinate fighting, the noblest examples of personal valor, a bravery that amounted to recklessness, and a carnage which for miles around reddened the earth with streams of blood.

The Confederate Government had staked its continued occupation of the South-West upon the favorable termination of this sanguinary contest, and the maintenance of the position at Corinth, the strategic point of its operations. For this purpose the entire army of the South-West, with but few exceptions, was massed at Corinth, and placed under command of its ablest generals.

On the 3d of April the Confederate Commander-in-Chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, issued special orders for the movement of troops, and

divided his forces into three *corps-d'armee*.<sup>1</sup> General Beauregard was announced as second in command of the entire forces. The first *corps-d'armee* was assigned to Major General Leonidas Polk, and embraced all the troops of his former command, except certain cavalry and artillery detached for the defence of Fort Pillow and Madrid Bend.

The second *corps-d'armee* was assigned to Major General Braxton Bragg, and consisted of the second division of the "Army of the Mississippi."

The third *corps-d'armee* was assigned to Major General Hardee, and was formed of the "Army of Kentucky."

The *reserve* force was composed of three brigades, under command of Brigadier General John C. Breckenridge. According to General Beauregard's Field Return, the total of his effective force—infantry, cavalry and artillery—was forty thousand three hundred and fifty-five men.

Further to stimulate his troops in the pending battle, General Johnston on the same day issued the following address:

**SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI:**

I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country, with the resolution, and discipline, and valor becoming men fighting, as you are, for all worth living or dying for. You can but march to a decisive

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1. See Special Orders (marked A) attached to General P. T. Beauregard's "Official Report of the action of Shiloh,"—Confederate Reports, page 219.

victory over agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor.

Remember the precious stake involved. Remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your children in the result. Remember the fair, broad, abounding lands, the happy homes, that will be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and hopes of eight million people rest upon you. You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your valor and courage—worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your general will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.<sup>2</sup>

The intention of the Confederate commander was to assume the offensive, and by striking a sudden and crushing blow upon our forces under General Grant, defeat and force him into his transports and down the river, thus enabling the rebel forces to hold the river while they bore away the fruits of the victory; and again, having defeated the command of General Grant in detail, his troops would be so demoralized that even General Buell's arrival would be of no present benefit, and thus would the combined attack upon his position at Corinth be frustrated. It was intended to make the attack on the morning of the 5th, but a severe rain storm on the 4th had rendered the roads muddy and slow of passage. This delay of a day cannot but be regarded as a providential interference in our behalf. Had the battle occurred that day, and resulted in the disaster that occurred the next, Heaven alone can tell what fate would have

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2. See "Rebellion Record," volume iv, page 75. ■

befallen our arms ! Our army could not have been reinforced by General Buell on that date, and the destruction or capture of the troops engaged would have been inevitable.

Pittsburg Landing is not a town ; two log huts contained all the residents of that locality. It is simply a touching point for steamboats that ply the river, they sometimes wooding-up here, and occasionally landing or taking passengers or freight. The landing itself is a deep, narrow ravine, down which a road passes to the river bank. The bank all along the river is a high bluff. The country back from the river is rolling, deeply cut up with ravines which run in every direction. In some of these ravines the soil is cultivated, but the entire country is mostly covered with a heavy growth of timber, considerable of which is much obstructed with underbrush. The soil is clay, making the roads almost impassable in rainy seasons, and utterly so for heavy transportation.

From Pittsburg Landing a road leads direct to Corinth. A mile and a half out it forks, one branch being termed the lower Corinth road, running due south ; the other, termed the ridge road, continues another mile in a westerly direction, then runs due south, parallel with the first. A mile from the Landing a road leaves the main road, and leads in a southeasterly direction to Hamburgh, crossing Lick Creek. Opposite where this road diverges another leads in a north-westerly course, across Snake Creek, to Crump's Landing. •Both Hamburgh and Crump's Landing

are on the river. Another road, a continuation of the main road from the divergence of the Corinth road, leads due west to Purdy. There is also a road running from Crump's Landing to Purdy.

On and between these roads, at a distance of from two to five miles, lay five divisions of General Grant's army. The advance line was formed by three divisions—those of Generals Sherman, Prentiss and McClernand. In rear of these lay the divisions of Generals Hurlbut and Smith. This front line extended from the Hamburg road, near the crossing of Lick Creek, on the left, to the high ridge of land near Snake Creek, on the right. Such, in brief, was the situation of our forces that Sunday morning. It is not necessary here to give the details of the several positions of that day. The country knows full well how the attack was made—how bravely many fought and fell—how ignominiously some fled to the Landing, leaving their heroic comrades to breast the flaming ordeal alone! Such lofty heroism and such base poltroonery have seldom been witnessed on the battle-grounds of any nation. Suffice it here to say that at nightfall of that eventful day General Grant's army was crowded into the brief space of a single mile, from bank to bank, while thousands of men—not soldiers—skulked under the river bluff for protection, overpowered by panic, and insensible alike to the appeals of pride and the sarcasm of shame. In twenty-two cannon placed in battery in a little semi-circle, in the few thousands of noble soldiers

who determined to uphold the honor of their State and nation, even though their bones bleached on the battle-soil, and in the two gunboats which, commanding the ravine of Owl Creek, spitefully yet hoarsely bellowed forth their terrible wrath, rested the success or defeat of that glorious army which had so recently crowned itself with the laurels of Fort Donelson. The official reports of this battle, as published by authority of Congress, contain no statement of the aggregate force under General Grant engaged in the action of the 6th; but the data derived from regimental, brigade and division reports show an approximate strength of twenty-nine thousand four hundred men. Take from this number the troops captured early in the fight, and the crowd of panic-stricken men, stated by competent and concurring witnesses to be at least eight thousand in number, and the mind may well start at the result reached. Only that determined obstinacy, desperate bravery and mad-dened will which *knows not defeat*, and is but rarely illustrated in the bloody combats of Mars, enabled that army of scarcely nineteen thousand men to withstand an army of forty thousand, the flower and pride of the Southern hosts, and to form the nucleus around which on the morrow was to be gathered another grand army, which would achieve a victory as enduring in its brilliancy as the records of time itself.

The scene presented at Pittsburg Landing on the debarkation of the SECOND DIVISION was one that

might well tingle the cheek of every patriot soldier with shame. As the boats approached within a few feet of the shore, men crowded upon the water's edge and prepared to leap upon them. Guards were placed along the gunwale, who with fixed bayonets stayed the surging tide which so nearly whelmed them with disorder and demoralization. Thus baffled in their efforts to escape, many of these men piteously begged to be let on board, telling the most doleful stories of the yesterday's disaster, of the close proximity of the enemy, and the fate that in another hour would crush them completely.

As the regiments disembarked and moved up the steep and slippery bluff, they were assailed by those crowding the landing with expressions which might well cause the heart of the bravest to flutter, and raise within his mind the most fearful forebodings of his doom, such as—"Oh, you'll catch it when you get over the hill there!" "Oh, boys, I pity you!" "You'll never come back again, comrades—mark that!" "Our regiment is terribly cut up!—only sixteen left—the rest all killed!" The only response the gallant boys of the division deigned to utter was, "Oh, you don't say!" "How do *you* know, you cowardly poltroons!" "Oh, you're a pack of miserable cowards! Fall in here; this is a good regiment: it's not going to run, neither! Come out and fight, and we'll drive the rebels across the Mississippi!" Language of this character, uttered under such circumstances, was a happy augury of coming



victory. The other divisions of General Buell's army encountered similar scenes, and nobly withstood their ruinous tendency.

The divisions of Generals Nelson and Crittenden crossed the river and stood to their arms during the night of the 6th. As heretofore stated, General McCook's command arrived early in the morning of the 7th. These three divisions of General Buell's forces were all that participated in the battle until just at its close, when the division of General Wood came up, and one brigade (the Twenty-first, Colonel G. D. Wagner commanding) participated in repulsing the last temporary stand the enemy made on that day.

The line of battle formed on the morning of the 7th was as follows: Major General Lewis Wallace, the right wing; Brigadier General William Nelson, the left wing; General T. L. Crittenden was placed in position on the right of Nelson; General McCook on the right of General Crittenden; General S. A. Hurlbut to the right of General McCook; General John A. McClernand to the right of General Hurlbut, and General W. T. Sherman between Generals McClernand and Wallace.

The character of this work will not allow us, nor is it necessary, to describe the contest which occurred upon the whole extent of our battle front on that memorable day. This description, therefore, will embrace the SECOND DIVISION, and only such other commands as necessarily came in contact with it.

Under the direction of General McCook, General Rousseau moved with his brigade, a little after six o'clock, to the front, and formed his line of battle, his left resting near General Crittenden's right, his right extending towards the north, and in a probable line with the commands of Generals Hurlbut and McClernand.

The attack upon the enemy by Generals Wallace and Nelson was nearly simultaneous. Rapidly the latter moved forward his command, and at twenty minutes past five he found him, and the resistance commenced. Gallantly our men pressed upon the enemy, and steadily pushed him back upon his main line, until at six o'clock, A. M., they were halted by command of General Buell, General Nelson having advanced so far as to expose his right flank to the fire of the enemy. General Crittenden's command was moved up slowly, and in partial prolongation of General Nelson's line, but did not become seriously engaged with the enemy. In about half an hour after General Rousseau's brigade had formed in its first position, Colonel Kirk's brigade arrived to the front, and was placed as a reserve to Rousseau. At this time General McCook, observing a more favorable position for his troops some three hundred yards to the front, ordered the line forward across the intervening ravine, to take advantage of it, throwing forward two companies from each regiment as skirmishers. General Rousseau's brigade moved forward with alacrity, taking the position indicated. His

line of battle was now formed as follows: the first battalion of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, Captain Swain, and the first battalion of the Sixteenth United States Infantry, Captain Townsend, both under command of Major John H. King, were on the right; the first battalion of the Nineteenth United States Infantry, Major S. D. Carpenter, on the left of Major King; the First Ohio, Colonel B. F. Smith, on the left of Major Carpenter; and the Sixth Indiana, Colonel T. T. Crittenden, on the left flank. The Fifth Kentucky, or "Louisville Legion," Colonel H. M. Buckley, was held in reserve a hundred and fifty paces in rear of the line. While the brigade was in its first position the enemy opened a well-directed fire upon the left of the line, which much jeopardized the safety of the Sixth Indiana regiment. Upon moving forward to the second position the fire of artillery was rendered harmless, as this command was under cover of a ridge. As the line again advanced a few paces to the front, the Sixth Indiana, by a wheel of the battalion to the left, formed eight companies at right-angles with the division of General Crittenden, thereby well protecting the left flank of the immediate brigade front. The two right companies, under command of Captain P. P. Baldwin, were faced to the front, behind a low rail fence, and commanding an open field of some two hundred yards in width. In rear of this formation the land was heavily timbered; in front it was open timber and fields upon General McCook's left, but

woods with a dense undergrowth of brush upon his right. Within half an hour after this position was taken, the skirmishers under Captain Haughey were rapidly driven in, many killed and wounded, and the entire line fiercely assailed by the enemy. The attempt was to turn our right. This contest lasted full twenty minutes, and before it ended many brave men fell, among them Captain William H. Acker, of the Sixteenth Infantry. The roar of artillery, the screaming and bursting of shells, the roll of musketry, made continuous by the rapidity of the firing, the slogan of battle as it came in piercing accents from the line of the foe, the defiant shout of our men as they resisted stoutly the onset, the bearing of the gallant Rousseau, who on horseback dashed along his lines with hat high advanced on the point of his sword, cheering and inspiring his men with all the fire of his own martial energy, the clouds of sulphurous smoke which rose above them and shut out the beautiful sunlight of heaven—all combined to render it a tragic drama of fearful magnitude, while the actors seemed the incarnation of bands of Eumenidian furies. At last the enemy was repulsed, and for a few moments quiet reigned along the line.

Meantime Colonel Kirk's brigade, which had been held as support to General Rousseau, formed in order of battle, with the Thirtieth Indiana, Colonel Bass, on the right, and the Thirty-fourth Illinois, Major C. N. Levanway, on the left, in deployed line, the Twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel D. M.

Dunn, on the right, and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh, on the left, in double column as reserve, was moved forward, with the exception of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, by order of General McCook, to support the right of Rousseau's line, against which the attack had been most severe, and where it would probably be next made, as the interval was quite extended between his right and General Hurlbut's left, and thus afforded the enemy a favorable opportunity for an attempt to turn that flank. Colonel Kirk's instructions were to watch the enemy, and if attacked to hold the ground *at every hazard*.


Again the rebels renewed the attack. They moved up with a heavier line of battle than before, and advanced with far greater resolution and obstinacy. It was with the same purpose as the previous onset; but they were met with a terrific discharge of bullets from the regulars and the First Ohio, which first caused their line to waver and then to halt: and now for half an hour there was poured forth one incessant volley of musketry from both sides. Artillery, too, played vigorously upon the lines, and made sad havoc among the men. At times it seemed as though the rebel host would break our line, and if so the most fatal consequences could not fail to result. General McCook, seeing Rousseau's line hard pressed, ordered the Thirty-second Indiana, Colonel A. Willich, the advance of Colonel Gibson's brigade, to form a line in rear of the center of the division, to

be used as circumstances might require, with orders that should the enemy succeed in breaking our line, to advance and charge bayonet. During this fiery ordeal the Sixth Indiana had maintained with firmness an important position on the left, and in conjunction with the First Ohio had dealt fearful destruction upon the enemy's line. Three times the maddened foe had moved to the attack: twice his colors went down, and twice he withdrew his force, but being reinforced with fresh troops renewed the contest. Nor was this their only danger. A rebel battery in front and to the left, and a Federal battery to the rear and right, each playing upon the other, threw canister and shell into their ranks. The rebel battery was soon silenced by shots from Bartlett's battery, in position to the rear and right of General Crittenden's division—our own battery by being informed of the damage it was doing. Right gallantly had our men behaved, and displayed most praiseworthy courage, and in each repulse of the enemy had strewn the ground with his slain. Our own losses also footed more heavily as the combat deepened.

General Rousseau was ignorant as to the nature of the ground in his front occupied by the enemy, as it was concealed by a dense timber growth and underbrush; but upon being informed that their position was on more open ground than his own, he decided to advance his force cautiously to the front, until he gained better ground for the formation of his line or

encountered the enemy. He did not proceed far, however, until he was attacked by the rebel column with redoubled fury. It was a grand sight to see those battalions, formed in line, move up so proudly and so steadily to the enemy's column—grander far when amidst a sheeted flame of fire and smoke, terrible in its effects, they repulsed the foe squarely and decidedly, with loss in killed and wounded seemingly incredible, the ground in places being piled with rebel slain.

At this juncture General Rousseau received messages informing him that the enemy were advancing in strong force to turn the left of General McClernand's line. This line, it appears, was next to General McCook's, Hurlbut's command having been called to other parts of the field. Should this line be broken, the centre of the line of our army would be exposed, and the success of the day turned into defeat. To meet and prevent this attempt to turn his left, General McClernand moved his column by the left flank, and thus confronted the enemy. And here occurred one of the severest conflicts of that day. The rebel line was steadily driven back to near what had been McClernand's headquarters, when it was reinforced by other troops, and again advanced with stubbornness to the battle. A repulse seemed inevitable. The position was most critical, indeed. To drive the enemy once more was to regain his camps lost on the previous day ; to be driven was to sacrifice all the gain of the day's hard fighting,



and to compromise the safety of the army itself. What must be done? From whence should reinforcements come? Every where the line seemed to be engaged, and it would be manifestly unsafe to withdraw the immediate supports of the brigades in action or any part of them. Nevertheless, in the extremity of his peril, he applied to Rousseau for aid. Rousseau, comprehending the importance of the position, and the necessity of prompt action, resolved to move forward his entire brigade, with the exception of the Sixth Indiana, which still held manfully its important position on the left flank, and which the enemy had menaced constantly since morning. He at once ordered the Louisville Legion to move forward to the right and front, and engage the enemy. At the same time the regulars and the First Ohio advanced in prolongation of this line. The brigade moved to the attack of greatly superior numbers with all the steadiness of veterans in a score of battles, and when front came to front the collision was terrific. General McClernand's line, now lengthened and strengthened by this valuable force, moved on to victory. The Louisville Legion poured volley after volley of musketry with the most surprising rapidity into the enemy's ranks, mowing great roadways through his lines, and speedily throwing him into confusion, followed by a rapid retreat. The line pursued. Amidst the stormy enthusiasm of victorious troops the Louisville Legion charged a battery which the enemy was using with fearful power



against us, captured two guns in position and four others disabled and unfit for service. Here General Rousseau had the pleasure of retaking McClernand's headquarters, lost on the previous day. His gallant brigade, besides capturing the artillery, took three stands of colors from the enemy. The ground occupied by Rousseau was the vital position of the army. It belonged to him to hold the road of the enemy to the Landing—a point which he persisted in gaining in every assault upon our lines; but happily every attempt to outflank this brigade was repulsed with heavy loss. In this last encounter Kentuckians met Kentuckians, and as if instinctively known to each other, the fire was doubly severe and fatal. On our side the Fifth Kentucky or Louisville Legion stood in deadly array against the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Kentucky rebel regiments, besides other forces from other States. This last engagement occupied full forty minutes.

Meantime the brigades of Colonels Kirk and Gibson had been giving masterly support to Rousseau, moving up within close distance as he advanced, and maintaining careful watch of the flanks of our line. When Rousseau's brigade moved to the front and right, to succor the hard-pressed ranks of McClernand, it necessarily created an extended interval between his left and the right of General Crittenden's divisions, only partially supplied by the tenacious presence of the Sixth Indiana. The enemy perceived this space, and massed his forces to effect a passage

and outflank our left; General McCook therefore ordered the Thirty-second Indiana to advance to the support of General Rousseau's left, and give the enemy the bayonet as soon as possible. This famous regiment, not forgetful of its bloody ordeal at Rowlett's Station, formed in double column to the centre, filed through the lines of Colonel Kirk's brigade, advanced proudly about two hundred yards towards the enemy, who seeing the gleam of German bayonets, retreated hastily to avoid the charge. The regiment was now deployed in line of battle, to give the enemy the benefit of all its rifles. It advanced in line with the division, until the contest again waxed hotly on the right of Rousseau's line, when it was again formed in double column to the centre, and two companies deployed as skirmishers in advance. The enemy now massed his forces in great strength behind a point of water-oaks and a dense thicket, and there awaited attack. This point of timber is from four to five hundred yards east of the little Shiloh church, and all along from the point of the oaks to the south of the church the enemy was forming his lines for another and determined conflict with our forces. The Thirty-second advanced against this hidden force, entered the thicket, and engaged in a terrible struggle, which lasted full twenty minutes. The regiment was then compelled to fall back; and here, through some unaccountable oversight, this command received a most withering fire of shell, canister and musketry from the front, rear, right and left, placing it in dan-

ger of complete annihilation, and causing it to retreat through the left of Colonel Kirk's line, now seriously engaged with the enemy, and compelling him to fall back some seventy-five paces and reform his command.

General McCook being now assured that the enemy had ceased its efforts upon the right of his line, and, as indicated by the repulse of the Thirty-second Indiana, was preparing to turn his left, ordered the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Infantry to take a position upon the extreme left of General Rousseau's line, and repel the assault there being made. This regiment gallantly moved forward, deployed in line of battle, and took position at the point designated and known as "Sherman's Battalion Drill Ground." It did not for some time participate in the hottest of the conflict, but was constantly exposed to the fire of the enemy.

General Rousseau's brigade, after repulsing the enemy near McClernand's headquarters, withdrew for a time from the action, having exhausted its ammunition. It was a beautiful sight—the passage of lines of these splendid brigades. The battalions of each brigade were ployed into double column and passed each other, Rousseau retiring, Kirk advancing. As the columns neared each other, the chivalrous Rousseau and staff rode up to Colonel Kirk and staff, and said, "Colonel Kirk, the fourth brigade will never forget the noble manner in which you have stood by us this day. My ammunition is gone, but

when you need me I will stand by you with the cold steel !” Noble words from a noble commander. The troops of each brigade shouted a cheer for the other, and each proceeded on its mission. Colonel Kirk’s brigade gained the front, which now faced the edge of an open field of moderate extent. Here the brigade was deployed in line of battle, similar to its first formation when in support of Rousseau, the Thirtieth Indiana and the Thirty-fourth Illinois on the first line, the Twenty-ninth Indiana only in double column in reserve. The Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania was also in the front and to the left, where it had been ordered when the danger was so imminent on that flank ; and off there, alone, it had already distinguished itself. Acting as sharpshooters, it succeeded in clearing the woods of the enemy’s sharpshooters, who, concealed behind trees, were endeavoring to pick off our officers engaged in the action, both in McCook’s and Crittenden’s front. It had also handsomely repulsed a spirited cavalry charge of the enemy, and emptied many saddles of the foe by the well-aimed fire of its loyal Liege rifles.

Colonel Kirk moved his brigade forward across the open field in his front, in the timber on the opposite side of which the enemy was posted in great strength. Fairly in this open space, and the contest burst upon the ear like an earthquake. The roar of artillery was deafening. A perfect sleet of musketry, canister and shell swept the ground ; yet few men faltered, though the dead were falling thick around.

Having rapidly crossed the open field, the brigade passed beyond a piece of swampy ground on the edge of the timber, and forming quickly in the best condition possible, commenced firing. Our fire was energetic and continuous. The artillery of the enemy was on a commanding ridge, posted to the right, the left and the centre, and discharged shot and shell into the midst of Kirk's lines, inflicting a dreadful slaughter. It was at this time that the Thirty-second Indiana, seemingly attacked upon all sides, fell back through Colonel Kirk's lines, passing through the right of the Thirty-fourth Illinois and the left of the Thirtieth Indiana. But Colonel Kirk soon reformed the line, moving up in the meantime the Twenty-ninth Indiana, to take position on his extreme left, to guard against a charge of the enemy, should they attack while the new line was being formed. While in this position the left of the Thirty-fourth Illinois rested upon the small road running into the Corinth road, and was subjected for a few moments to a terrible enfilading fire from the enemy's battery, posted to the front and left. At the moment the command to advance was given, Major Charles N. Levanway<sup>2</sup>

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2. Charles N. Levanway, Major of the Thirty-fourth Illinois Volunteers, was a young man of great capacity and much promise, and but for his untimely death "would have become an honor to his country;" for although a citizen soldier, and scarcely five months in the service, he had furnished ample evidence of military ability, both in the campaign and the minutiae of camp government and instruction. He was born in the town of Lawrence, Saint Lawrence county, New York, in 1829. He was of poor but highly respectable parentage, and until the age of twenty performed the labor and received the schooling usual among farmers' boys. At this time he was inspired with a desire to attain a more com-

shouted "FORWARD!" and fell from his horse, killed by a grape-shot from the dreaded battery on the left. The command of the Thirty-fourth Illinois now devolved on Captain H. W. Bristol, of Company B.

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plete education, and at once resolved to do it. For three years he attended the academy at Lyons, New York, teaching school in the winter, and working in the harvest-field during the summer vacation. He then commenced the study of law in the office of D. W. Parshall, of Lyons. After three years of close study and constant application of theory to practice, so far as he was able, he proceeded to Rochester, passed examination, and was admitted to practice in all the courts of that State. He was specially complimented by the Judges for the knowledge of law which he displayed in his examination, and speedy success was predicted in the practice of his profession. He chose the West as his field of labor, and in the fall of 1853 removed to Dixon, Illinois. He taught in one of the public schools of that town during the winter, and in the following spring opened a law office, in partnership with the Honorable Delano T. Smith, which continued until 1856. The partnership was then dissolved, Mr. Smith removing to Minnesota. Levanway still continued the practice of law, and rose rapidly into popular favor and confidence. He was much subject to attacks of inflammatory rheumatism, and at times was confined to his room for months. His great love for the law prevented his attempting any other occupation more active or conducive to his health.

Upon the outbreak of the rebellion he enlisted heart and soul in the cause of the Union, and by speech and conversation contributed much to rally the yeomanry of Lee county to enlist actively under the "Star-spangled Banner" of the Republic.

Upon the first call of the President for three hundred thousand volunteers, he, together with Edward N. Kirk and Amos Bosworth, proceeded to raise a regiment, which was rapidly organized, and assumed the name of the "Rock River Regiment," and upon being accepted was entitled the "Thirty-fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers." It is not necessary here to delineate its further progress. While encamped at Springfield, Illinois, in August, 1861, Major Levanway returned to Dixon, to close up his business, and was again the victim of rheumatism, which confined him to his room until the 3d of December. He then proceeded to the camp of his regiment, at Nolin, Kentucky. He soon won the love and confidence of his command by his mild yet firm bearing, and the soldiers at once saw in him a true friend. His gallant bearing on the bloody field of Shiloh, as he formed the boys in line of battle, and his untimely death, just as the regiment engaged in terrific strife, almost disorganized the command; but they soon rallied, and impartial history records their noble action that day. Major Levanway's remains were taken to his home and interred amidst impressive funeral ceremonies—the more solemn as he was the first of her sons who had fallen.

Major Levanway was tall and commanding in appearance; his forehead was of peculiar cast, narrow but full, showing a rare development of perceptive and reasoning faculties; his eye was dark, almost black, and wondrous in its power of expression; in disposition he was genial and courteous to all; he had but few intimate friends, but was esteemed

At nearly the same moment Colonel Bass,\* of the Thirtieth Indiana, was mortally wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, and was compelled to leave the

by all; he never could do too much for a sincere friend, and an enemy found in him a foe he might well dread; he scorned to use deception, and in all his actions was honest and above-board—he bravely fought his way upward, and mastered all opposition. He died as he had lived—without fear and without reproach. He died—

“One whose life  
Hath been a troubled stream, and made its way  
Through rocks and darkness, and a thousand storms,  
With still a mighty aim.”

[Mrs. Hemans' "Vespers of Palermo."]

Soon after his death General McCook addressed the following letter to Governor Yates:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, ARMY OF THE OHIO, }  
Field of Shiloh, Tennessee, April 15, 1862. }

HONORABLE RICHARD YATES, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS:

*Sir*,—Although I had the honor to command only one of the gallant regiments which are the pride and glory of the "Prairie State" on the bloody field of Shiloh, the dauntless bearing of that regiment—the Thirty-fourth—demands that I should call your attention to its distinguished services. Led into battle by Major Levanway, no regiment could have behaved better—none did more signal service. The large list of killed and wounded show the stubborn attacks made upon it. Its colonel (E. N. Kirk), commanding the fifth brigade, was severely wounded, and the brave and gallant Levanway, foremost in the ranks of danger, was instantly killed by a grape-shot. His name is another bright one added to the illustrious Illinois dead, who have "dared to do and die" in the cause of the republic. To him, and the brave ones who sleep with him, the State owes the holy debt of remembrance—to the regiment, thanks and gratitude.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. McD. McCook, Commanding Second Division.

3. The substance of this sketch is from the "Indiana Roll of Honor." Sion S. Bass was born in Salem, Livingston county, Kentucky, on the 8th day of January, 1827, whence he removed to Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1848. Possessed of great energy of character, combined with a genial and generous nature, he soon established an enviable business reputation. Frank, companionable and intellectual, he won the respect and esteem of the community. On the organization of the Thirtieth regiment of Indiana Volunteers he was appointed colonel, and immediately entered upon his duties. Without military knowledge or training, he was called to the command of a regiment that had never shouldered a musket, and was in a very few days thereafter ordered to the field. Being supplied with arms, the regiment at once went to Louisville, Kentucky, and thence



field. This, too, was a serious loss. Two regiments were suddenly deprived of their commanders. The intelligence of the disaster sped like a flash along the lines, and despair seemed to settle upon them. The

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into camp near Nolin. Here the duties of his position rendered it necessary that Colonel Bass should give his mind wholly to the discipline of his command—to transform a body of raw recruits into a regiment of soldiers, qualified for the hardships and necessities of war. To this end it was indispensable he should first qualify himself for the important duty. None but those who have passed through the trying ordeal can fully appreciate the difficulties and perplexities of such an undertaking. To this arduous task he applied himself with his usual indomitable energy and industry, and in a surprisingly short time surmounted every obstacle. In his fidelity and scrupulousness in the discharge of duty he excited the admiration of his superiors and secured the love and respect of both the officers and men of his regiment. The Thirtieth was one of the best disciplined regiments in the brigade, and Colonel Bass was regarded as one of the most promising officers of the army. While before Bowling Green he had ample opportunity to acquire from practical experience much useful knowledge in the art of war. He entered into it with intense interest. The “pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war” had charms for him. He remained in Kentucky during the winter. In the spring he marched with his regiment to Columbia, Tennessee, thence to Pittsburg Landing, arriving there on Monday morning, the 7th of April, with General Buell’s army. As his regiment proudly marched to their position in the battle-front, he felt that the time he had long and anxiously waited for had arrived—the time which was to decide whether his own expectations of his strength and ability were well founded,—and right nobly were these expectations realized; but alas! how soon to be extinguished forever! “Forward!” was the order, into the thick woods, where the enemy had posted his men, with the stern resolve to yield no further step, but there to redeem the fortunes of the day. Colonel Bass led his regiment into the very thickest of the fight, and while bravely leading them on to victory, he received a wound which compelled him to leave the field. He was taken to the river and placed on board a steamer. He would not believe his wound was mortal, and his only anxiety was to get back to his regiment. In a few days he was taken to Paducah, Kentucky, where much of his youth had been spent, and there, on the 14th of April, 1862, surrounded by his family and friends, he changed time for eternity! Thus in the prime of life and in the vigor of manhood was cut off one of Indiana’s most estimable citizens. In his death the service lost one of its most promising officers, the Episcopal Church an exemplary member, and our country an able and patriotic defender.

“Yes, Sion’s dead and gone!  
Toll the bell—toll the bell!  
Sleep, Sion, sleep, to wake in light,  
Where all thy deeds are purest white—  
Toll the bell!”



two regiments reeled and staggered, and those brave men, mercilessly decimated by shot and shell, looked from one to another as if all was lost. It was a most trying moment, for victory or defeat rested on their action now. Colonel Kirk saw at a glance the terrible reality, and galloping down to the front and centre of his line, regardless of the iron storm, he directed the only one of the color guard (a member of Company A) not shot down to advance to the front and plant the flag, and nobly he did it. Then Colonel Kirk, inspired with heroic fire, called to his old regiment to rally around their colors and follow him. Said he: "Soldiers of the Thirty-fourth! this flag was made by the girls you left behind you. When it was given you to keep, you swore on bended knees before your God to bring it back or die. Now make your oath good, for the time has come to prove it." Captain Bristol also dashed down the line, swinging his hat in the air, and by his own wild enthusiasm restored confidence in the men. In another moment, through the coolness and noble bearing of the company officers the regiment formed by the colors, and stood in line as if on dress parade. So much was safe. Colonel Kirk then proceeded with the color-bearer of the Thirtieth Indiana some distance in advance of its line, and in the most gallant manner planted the colors and shouted "Forward!" The whole line, inspired with a new faith, a new determination, answered with a shout, and rushed anew to the feast of death.

Colonel Kirk, while acting thus gallantly, received a wound which nearly proved fatal. But his whole heart was in the cause, and nothing but death could induce him to leave the field. With his arm in a sling he remained on the ground, sharing with his men its fiercest perils until the victory was won.

The falling back to reform the lines was evidently taken by the rebel commander as a retreat, and his forces came sweeping on in strong lines, and with shouts which almost drowned the roar of the cannon, to take advantage of it, and if possible crush the centre of our lines, and thus gain the first essential step to a victory. But Kirk's line on being reformed had lain down to avoid the scathing fire, which cut down the brush around them with the uniformity of a reaper's sickle, and silently awaited the approach of the over-confident foe. They were allowed to approach within ten or fifteen paces of our front, when a volcano of lead opened upon them, which struck scores dead upon the earth. The instantaneous discharge of so many rifles, with such terrible effect, filled their ranks with consternation, and despite the commands, appeals and imprecations of officers, they retreated in disorder. Kirk's lines then sprang to their feet, and with shouts which seemed piercing as the shriek of torture, pursued the foe. Soon the brigade gained the ground it had lost, and pushed still further on, until having gained a hundred yards in the advance, the enemy coming upon his second line was halted and reformed. Then our own lines

were halted; and there, with only a narrow ravine between, they stood, and for upwards of an hour terrible destruction was dealt on either side.

But Colonel Kirk's brigade was not the only one of the division engaged. When General Rousseau's brigade retired to receive a new supply of ammunition, and Kirk's brigade advanced to sustain the brunt of the battle, General McCook ordered Colonel Gibson's brigade to engage on the left of Colonel Kirk's, where the enemy was still striving to force his way. Most gallantly his brigade moved into action—the Fifteenth Ohio, Major William Wallace, on the right; the Thirty-ninth Indiana, Colonel Thomas J. Harrison, in the centre; the Forty-ninth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel A. M. Blackman, on the left. The Thirty-second Indiana, as previously stated, was detached from the brigade as soon as it arrived upon the field, and acted as an independent command during the day. As it advanced into position, the enemy—concealed by tents, behind trees, and in dense undergrowth—opened a terrific fire upon the entire line instantaneously. Here, too, as in the fifth brigade, the enemy played spiritedly upon the line, with a battery on each flank and in his centre. But the command behaved with commendable steadiness, and replied with musketry with effect, steadily pressing forward and driving the enemy some eighty rods.


Colonel Gibson here discovered that, under cover of a ravine, the enemy was turning his left; he

therefore ordered the Forty-ninth Ohio to change line of battle to the rear on first company—a difficult movement, which was admirably executed under a most galling fire. The firing was now rapid, and soon forced the rebels from their flank movement and back upon their main force. The regiment having defeated this demonstration, changed front forward on first company, and resumed its place in the original line of battle. But the enemy was determined to outflank Colonel Gibson's line, if possible, and in a few moments, with a largely increased force, he advanced to the left of the brigade. The Forty-ninth Ohio, as before, changed front to the rear, and poured a deadly fire into the enemy's ranks; and just here Captain Bouton gave timely assistance with two guns of his Chicago Battery, and silenced the rebel artillery on Colonel Gibson's left. This done he moved his guns to the rear of the Fifteenth Ohio, and a few shots compelled the rebel batteries which had so annoyed Gibson's right and centre to limber up and seek a new position.

Meantime General Rousseau's brigade, re-supplied with ammunition, had moved to the front to engage the enemy. General McCook also at this juncture ordered into action two regiments of General Hurlbut's division, which had been held in reserve on his left during the day. Still the enemy fought with obstinacy, determined not to yield the contest short of victory. His artillery and musketry fire was rapid and continuous, and seemed impossible to with-

stand. Now, at this critical moment, a battery of two or three guns—whose it was is not known—took position about the centre of General Rousseau's lines and opened a murderous fire upon the enemy in front, there forming for attack. Under direction of General Rousseau, the regulars and the Sixth Indiana moved to its support. Soon the battery was seriously menaced, and the commander withdrew it; but the support steadily held their ground, and in a short but decisive contest repelled the charge of the enemy and compelled him to halt. Our line then gallantly advanced with bold front about one hundred yards, when the enemy gave way, and the fortunes of the day closed against him. It was here that General Rousseau observed the First Ohio crossing in the double-quick an open field to his right and front. Galloping up, he ordered it to halt, he not having directed it to advance; but upon being informed that it was the order of General Grant, who was near by, it was put in motion, and advanced some three hundred yards when it was halted, and a combat ensued between it and a rebel force occupying a portion of one of our camps. The fire of the regiment was rapid and fatal, and the enemy soon fled. The loss of the First Ohio in this last action was eight men wounded.

Meantime the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania and the Thirty-second Indiana were rendering efficient service in this last terrible onset of the day. Colonel Willich having passed through the lines of Colonel



Kirk's brigade, reformed his regiment in double column to the centre, and again marched forward to charge the enemy, supported by a single regiment on his left wing. After moving a while in this formation the column was deployed in line of battle, charging the enemy with the bayonet, amidst a seething fire of musketry and canister. In the midst of this combat, and while other rebel forces stood impending, Colonel Willich observing that his men, under the excitement of battle, were firing too high and at too great a distance, ordered them to cease firing, and practiced them in the manual of arms, which restored coolness and confidence, and they then opened an effective fire. The enemy retired and Willich advanced, pursuing the retreat with four companies deployed as skirmishers, and double column to the centre following. This pursuit was continued for nearly a mile, and then abandoned from the weariness of the men. In this engagement the Thirty-second Indiana displayed distinguished gallantry, and its officers behaved with exemplary coolness. When the regiment was compelled to retreat, owing to the heavy concentration of fire from every direction, its officers did all within human power to check the temporary confusion, and in this effort Colonel Willich, Lieutenant Colonel Von Trebra, Major Schackenburg, and the Adjutant, Carl Schmidt, evinced bravery and skill. The Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania maintained its high trust all through the day, and about the time Willich routed the enemy with

the bayonet, it advanced upon a rebel battery under a steady storm of grape and canister, and compelled it to leave the field precipitately. Fortunately its fire was too high, or it would have fearfully decimated the ranks of that fine regiment. Pushing on they suddenly came upon Colonel Battles, of the Twentieth Tennessee (rebel) Infantry, who was forced to surrender. Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh had the honor of receiving his sword.<sup>4</sup>

When Colonel Kirk's brigade had formed its last line, and the intervening ravine alone separated the embattled hosts—at that juncture the rebel army then and there was making its last desperate effort of the day. It was then General McCook's division was fighting—not only for our glorious cause, but for the precious boon of life itself. Every available man was in the action. Rousseau, Kirk, Gibson, Willich, Stumbaugh—such was the line—were each and all assailed by an overwhelming force—a force of at least twelve thousand against six thousand,—and each and all fought with that irresistible bravery which, defying superior numbers, and confident in a righteous cause, expects only victory, nor deigns to accept less.

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4. Colonel Battles' horse was shot, and his regiment, pressed by Willich's sturdy advance, had left him. He was unable to follow before our skirmishers came up. Observing them close upon him, he picked up a gun, concealed himself behind a tree, and commenced firing upon them. As they approached, however, and his life became endangered, he threw down the gun, drew a white handkerchief from his pocket, and cried for quarter.

No pen can describe the terrific grandeur of that closing scene. Whole battalions on the rebel front were swept away. Their second line rushed on and trampled under foot their dead and dying. Elsewhere than on the division front the combat had partially lulled, and other commanders drew near to witness this fearful duel. The angel of death seemed perched midway between the contending forces. Heroes fell, and the "glad earth drank their blood." Ranks melted away by platoons. For a time the combattants on both sides stood like walls of stone. There was no need now of rallying—no need of inspiration; the soldiers had caught the spirit of their commander—their determined bearing seemed to say, "*We may die, but cannot be conquered!*" Suddenly the rebel host was reinforced, and the battle became a whirlwind. Beauregard, Bragg, Breckenridge and Hardee were there in person, and hurled their rebel columns against us with reckless fury. Twice they desperately charged our lines, and with unearthly yells endeavored to dislodge us, but each time they were repulsed with heavy slaughter. Soon—a fortunate acquisition—two pieces of Captain Terrell's battery advanced near the left of Colonel Kirk's brigade, and opened a furious fire upon the enemy,<sup>5</sup>

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5. Captain Terrell's battery properly belonged to General McCook's division. Owing to a mistake in the direction, made by one of General McCook's aides, the battery took a road which led to the rear and right of General Nelson's division. It was here ordered into position by General Buell, as Nelson was sorely pressed by the enemy. The right section, under command of First Lieutenant Francis L. Guenther, rendered distinguished service in repulsing the enemy, first from the right, and then,



by which the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, ever watchful for an advantage over the foe, was enabled to obtain a flanking range upon his line, and poured in a destructive enfilading fire. The Fifteenth Michigan and the Thirteenth Iowa also rendered valuable service in the division front at this juncture. Indeed

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in conjunction with the left and centre sections, under command of First Lieutenant J. H. Smyser and Second Lieutenant Israel Ludlow, from the left of the division. At one time during the action the attack was so severe that the infantry supports gave way, and as the battery had been advanced to the line of skirmishers, a position necessary in order to fire effectively upon the enemy, it came near being captured. Lieutenant Ludlow's section was sent to the rear, to cover the retreat of Lieutenant Smyser's, which was admirably done. During this retreat Captain Terrell served one of Lieutenant Smyser's pieces (a Napoleon) and he the other. They attached prolonges, and fired retiring. The enemy charged the battery three times, but the discharges of canister from Smyser's section and spherical case-shot from Guenther's and Ludlow's repulsed them. For a time Lieutenant Smyser and Corporal Robinson served one piece alone. Sergeant Metcalf, chief of the sixth piece, behaved with great gallantry. Though wounded in the head, he remained with his captain until shot in the leg, when he was compelled to crawl from the field. A sergeant of infantry (name unknown) seeing the battery sorely pressed, brought up ammunition, but served only a few moments when he was shot down. And again: Private John Marshall, of the Twenty-fourth Ohio, having exhausted his ammunition, came to the battery and served as a cannonier during the remainder of the action. About half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, when General McCook's division was fighting so desperately, the battery rendered signal service. Five batteries of the enemy were playing upon it. Lieutenant Guenther advanced his section with General Nelson's line of skirmishers, and took them in reverse; Smyser's section gave them an enfilading fire of shell and spherical case, while the centre section (Ludlow's) was posted to prevent the left flank being turned. Thus the battery, after constant action and serious loss, had the honor of assisting in the last and most fearful repulse of the foe. Indeed it did much to cause it.

Captain Terrell in his official report commends to the consideration of his superiors the non-commissioned officers of the battery—Sergeants Davis, Egan, Manbeck and Metcalf, Corporals Erwin, Lynch, Robinson and Brodie, and compliments the entire company for its heroism. To Doctor Dallas Bache he tenders his sincerest thanks for his unremitting devotion to duty, displayed both in camp and on the field. Lieutenant Rittenhouse was in Savannah, with the baggage, and therefore unable to share the honors of the battle with his brother officers. Stone's battery did not arrive from Savannah until the next day. Goodspeed's came up just as the action closed, and joined in the pursuit. Although anxious, they were denied a participation in the action. For losses in this battery see Appendix—"Tabular History of Losses."

the former regiment had been attached to General Rousseau's brigade the entire day, and vied in patriotism with the noble men of that command. Shell burst in the air and in the ranks, while grape, canister and bullets whistled through the lines and into the forest, scoring the trees—sad mementoes to show the traveler and tourist for years to come on what spot of earth this glorious battle was fought, and lost and won. But there is a limit to physical endurance, and amidst that carnage that limit must be soon reached; and while generals and others who had gathered near to witness this crowning encounter stood breathless in their anxiety for its successful issue, a shout ascended—a shout long, and clear, and wild. All instinctively turned pale with excitement. What was it? Whence came the stormy acclaim? The sulphurous canopy lifted from the earth, and disclosed the rebel lines in full retreat! One grand shout of triumph again resounded through the forest, pursuit was made for a short distance, fresh troops just upon the field continued it, the old troops retired to bivouac and to the sad toil of caring for their wounded comrades, and night hushed the din of strife. After ten hours of incessant warfare the contest was ended and the victory won. Our brave and faithful soldiers with one accord and one voice rendered thanks in humble, grateful praise to the God of Hosts.

The battle ended, the horrors of the carnage began to be realized. Night came on, and with it a cold,

drenching rain. The dead were unburied, and many of the wounded suffered terribly from pain and cold. Humanity did what it could—God cared for the rest. All through the night the unfortunate soldiers were brought from the field as fast as they could be found by dint of the callings and gropings of Samaritan comrades. All night the surgeons unceasingly worked in dressing their wounds. To those who labored so faithfully the country owes a debt of gratitude. Other soldiers, weary and exhausted from the excitement of the day, rolled themselves in their blankets and slept away, unconscious of the rain that poured in torrents about them. Others still, blanketless and coatless, gathered around the dim bivouac fires and watched the night away in the vain attempt to keep warm.

The rebel loss in this action was terribly severe. Perhaps the actual loss will never be known.<sup>6</sup> In front of General McCook's division, where the contest had been most bloody, there were buried next day six hundred and eighty rebel dead—there, where they fell, fighting so fiercely with strange zeal in their wicked cause.

The loss in the division was serious, and attests how well they fought.<sup>7</sup> Ninety-eight were killed and

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6. General P. T. Beauregard, in his official report of the action, gives the summary of his losses as follows: Killed, 1,728; wounded, 8,012; missing, 959—total, 10,699. See "Confederate Official Reports," page 223.

7. For lists of casualties see Appendix—"Casualties of the Second Division, Shiloh, April 7th, 1862;" also, Tabular History for summary.

seven hundred and thirty wounded—a total of eight hundred and twenty-eight. Officers, so far as possible, were commended for gallantry; but where all were so faithful, distinctions seem almost invidious.<sup>8</sup>

In the loss of these noble men the great heart of our country was wrung with sorrow. Thousands of

8. General McCook in his official report speaks in terms of the highest praise of his three brigade commanders, Rousseau, Kirk and Gibson; also to the members of his staff, Captain Daniel McCook, his Adjutant General; Lieutenants Davis, Hoblitzell and Straub, Aides-de-camp; Lieutenant Campbell, Ordnance officer; Captain Blake and Lieutenant Blake, Provost Marshals; Captain Williams, Commissary; Lieutenants Galbraith and Johnson, Signal Corps and acting Aides, and to J. P. Collier, acting Aide, he tenders his grateful thanks for gallantry in action and the intelligent manner in which they conveyed and communicated orders on the field of battle. Of Captain Boyd he says: "My ever-efficient quartermaster was absent in Savannah, superintending the embarkation of troops." He also commends the gallantry of Colonels Stumbaugh and Bass, Lieutenant Colonels Dodge, Housum and Dunn, Majors Hurd and Bradford, and Captain Bristol, of the Thirty-fourth Illinois. Of the latter he says: "He took command of the regiment after the death of Major Levanway, and greatly distinguished himself during the day." Again he mentions the staff of Colonel Kirk, Captain S. T. Davis, A. A. A. G., Captain Beeler, Commissary, and Lieutenant S. B. Dexter, Aide-de-camp, complimenting them for their bravery and assistance in the action. He did thus because the character of Colonel Kirk's wounds precluded the obtaining of a report from him. Surgeon Hewitt, of the Thirty fourth Illinois, also merited mention.

General Rousseau returns thanks for gallantry and coolness to Majors King and Carpenter, and Captains Swain and Townsend, of the regular army, to Colonels Smith, Buckley and Crittenden, regimental commanders, to Lieutenant Colonels Parrott, Berry and Prather, and to Majors Langdon, Treanor and Abbott. He also acknowledged his obligations to Lieutenants Armstrong and Rousseau, regular Aides, to E. F. Jewett, Esq., of Ohio, volunteer Aide, to Lieutenant Wickliffe, acting Aide, and to Captain W. M. Carpenter, brigade quartermaster, for valuable services in the field; also, to Colonel Oliver, of the Fifteenth Michigan Infantry, his officers and men, for joining his command and fighting throughout the day. This regiment numbered two hundred and thirty men.

Colonel Gibson refers with pride to the conduct of Colonels Willich and Harrison, Lieutenant Colonel Blackman, Majors Wallace, Evans and Drake, Captains Dawson and Kirby, and Adjutant Taft, of the Fifteenth Ohio, to Major S. W. Gross, brigade surgeon, to Charles Rodig, hospital steward of the Fifteenth Ohio, and also to J. M. Cory, hospital steward of the Forty-ninth Ohio. To the members of his staff—Captain Henry Clay, A. A. G., and Lieutenants Sumner and Otis, Aides-de-camp—he expresses his personal obligations. General Johnson was still prostrate with sickness, which compelled his absence at Columbia.

hearthstones were shrouded in gloom, and the land was draped in the funereal habiliments of mourning. Her noblest manhood and youth had gone forth to battle—many, alas! never to return. Well might father, mother, brother, sister and wife exclaim, in the deep anguish of a broken heart, as they pined over the irreparable loss of a loved one—

“He died—~~he~~ died,  
 On whom my lone devotedness was cast!  
 I might not keep one vigil by his side—  
*I*, whose wrung heart watched with him to the last!  
 I might not once his fainting head sustain,  
 Nor bathe his parched lips in the hour of pain,  
 Nor say to him, ‘Farewell!’ He passed away!  
 Oh! had *my* love been there, its conquering sway  
 Had won him back from death!”

The dead were buried and the wounded shipped speedily as possible on board transports, and sent to the army hospitals at Saint Louis, Cairo, Paducah, Mound City, New Albany and Louisville. In a little time the camps were again astir with a forward movement, and all were looking for the day when another battle should again drive the enemy from their front.

In this battle the SECOND DIVISION performed well and nobly its part. The position it held was the vital one of the army—the main Corinth road leading to Pittsburg Landing, and this once in his possession, victory would almost certainly have perched upon the rebel banners; but the steady valor and firm bearing of its troops repulsed each struggle of the foe and stamped upon him most remorselessly the iron heel of defeat. Nor was the handsome conduct

of the division unacknowledged. Brigadier General W. T. Sherman, (now Major General,) second in command of General Grant's forces, in his official report of the action, said: "I am ordered by General Grant to give personal credit where it is due, and censure where I think it merited. I concede that General McCook's splendid division from Kentucky drove back the enemy along the Corinth road, which was the great central line of this battle. There Beauregard commanded in person, supported by Bragg's, Johnston's and Breckenridge's divisions."

The second day's battle at Shiloh was probably the most magnificently fought engagement that has ever been waged upon this continent. The first day developed no splendid, no secure plan of battle upon the Federal side. The rebel plan of attack, however, was well devised. The death of Johnston, and the ceasing of the fight an hour too soon, was the forerunner of defeat on the morrow to the foe. Sunday exhibited on our side consummate generalship in division and brigade commanders, each of whom to a great extent fought independently and for the safety of himself. On Monday it was otherwise. A tangible and enduring line of battle was formed, which presented a bold front to the enemy; and in that confidence inspired by the characteristic bravery of Northern soldiery, the offensive was determined on. The attack was made; and then commanders, as if possessed with that incomparable experience in war which enabled the great captains of former

times to perceive with such unparalleled sagacity the true nature of the contest—that which was of the most or the least consequence to a successful and brilliant issue,—held their troops well in hand, moved them with all the skill of a master hand upon the great chess-board of strife, every where checkmated the manœuvres of the enemy, and finally, discomfited and defeated, forced him from the field.

The next day General Buell addressed to his command the following proclamation or order :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, }  
FIELD OF SHILOH, TENNESSEE, APRIL 8, 1862. }

[*General Orders, No. 6.*]

The General congratulates the army under his command on the imperishable honor won yesterday by a portion of it on the battle-field of Shiloh, near Pittsburg Landing. The alacrity and zeal with which they pressed forward by forced marches to the succor of their comrades of a sister army imperiled by the attack of an overwhelming force, the gallantry with which they assaulted the enemy, and the persevering courage with which they maintained an incessant conflict against superior numbers, from six o'clock in the morning until evening, when the enemy was driven from the field, are instances which point to a great service nobly performed.

The General reminds his troops again that such results are not attained by individual prowess alone; that subordination and careful training are essential to the efficiency of every army, and that the success which has given them a brilliant page in history is greatly due to the readiness with which they have seconded the labors of their division, brigade and regimental commanders, who first disciplined them in camp, and then led them judiciously and gallantly in battle.

By command of Major General Buell.

JAMES B. FRY, A. A. G., Chief of Staff.

Again, as at Forts Henry and Donelson, the people commingled joy with grief. As the news flashed through the land—how bravely the army had fought, and how seemingly inevitable defeat was turned into a glorious victory—the people congregated into great assemblies, and in patriotic cheer commemorated the event, sorrowed for the noble men who fell, attesting their sincerity in the munificence of their contributions for the support of desolate homes, and with united heart and voice sang *Te Deums* of praise to Him who had vouchsafed the nation so great a success. The pulpit, the bar, the press—all the heralds of public opinion—vied in attestation of the appreciation of the country for the gallantry and heroism displayed by the troops engaged—at once the pride and glory of the nation.

The State Legislatures which soon after held their sessions passed resolutions in honor of the event. The following was published by order of Major General Halleck, on the 16th day of May, to be read to the troops engaged :


*Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That the intelligence just received of the success of our arms in the late important battle at Pittsburg Landing, calls for our sincere acknowledgements to the Sovereign Disposer of events for his interference in our behalf.

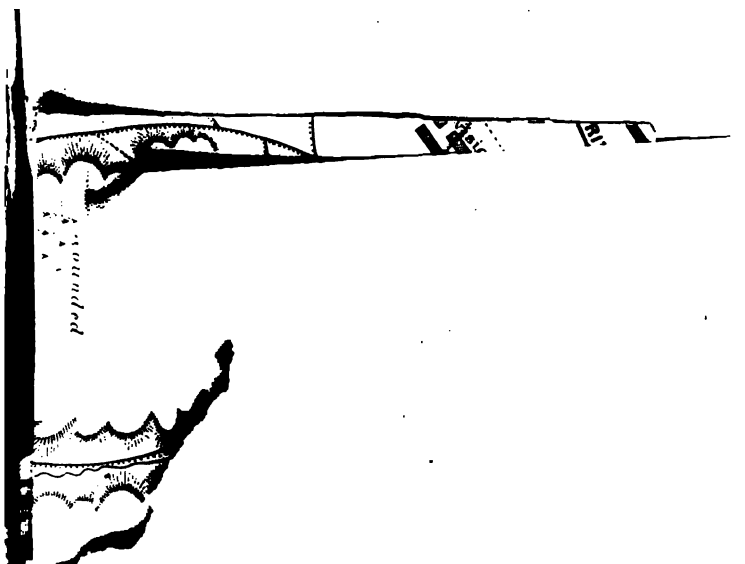
*Resolved,* That the thanks of the State of Ohio are hereby tendered to the gallant officers and men composing our army engaged in this desperate encounter, for their valor and endurance, resulting in such glorious success.

*Resolved,* That while rejoicing at this victory, we sympathize with the wounded, mourn for the glorious dead, and will honor and venerate their memories.



The soldiers, thankful for the appreciation of their services by the country, rapidly recuperated their worn-out energies, and were soon in as excellent a condition as before, and only awaited the trumpet blast to summon them to battle.





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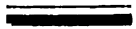
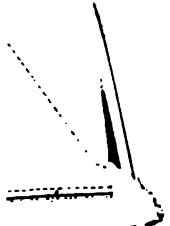
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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE SIEGE OF CORINTH—CHARACTER OF THE NEXT CAMPAIGN — BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR GENERAL A. M<sup>C</sup>D. M<sup>C</sup>COOK.

WHILE the battle of Shiloh was being fought, our forces in other fields were equally active and gained brilliant victories which seemed steadily to crown with glory the Union arms. On the 7th of April Island Number Ten surrendered to Flag-officer Foote. The gallant bearing of our navy and the land forces co-operating under General Pope were more than a match for the bravado of General W. D. McCall,<sup>1</sup> the

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1. The following is a copy of the order of General W. D. McCall, on assuming command of the rebel forces, on the 5th instant. It needs no comment:

"SOLDIERS,—We are strangers, commander and commanded, each to the other. Let me tell you who I am. I am a general made by Beauregard—a general selected by Beauregard and Bragg for this command, when they knew it was in peril. They have known me for twenty years. Together we have stood on the fields of Mexico. Give them your confidence now; give it to me when I have earned it. Soldiers,—the Mississippi valley is intrusted to your courage, to your discipline—your patience. Exhibit the vigilance and coolness of last night, and hold it.

W. D. McCALL, Brigadier General Commanding."


<sup>1</sup>Flag-officer Foote's Report—"Rebellion Record," vol. iv: page 488.

rebel commandant, or the confidence of his troops. The land forces fled on the previous night ; and thereupon, without a struggle, these works, erected with great skill and formidable in strength, constituting, next to Columbus, the great barrier to our navigation of the Mississippi river, were surrendered into our hands. The invincibility of these river defences was henceforth broken. Fort Pillow and other places held out for a time, but the triumphal march of Federal prowess was still onward, and with the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson the enemy lost his control of the great "Father of Waters" forever.

At Pea Ridge, Arkansas, another battle was fought under General Curtis, which resulted in the defeat of the rebel forces, and in the death of one of the enemy's bravest generals, old Ben McCulloch.

On the 11th of April General Mitchell's division, which had been detached while at Nashville to perform the difficult undertaking of destroying the communications of the enemy with the East, advanced on Huntsville, Alabama, with a celerity that baffled every attempt to apprise the enemy of his coming, dashed into the town, taking it by surprise, and captured not only the enemy's military road, but his machine shops, engines, lathes, and a large portion of his rolling stock.

Thus provided with ample transportation, he struck blow after blow upon the enemy, proceeding as far east as Stevenson, Alabama. Decatur and Tusculumbia, westward, were also occupied. The railroad



bridges across the Tennessee were destroyed, and in less than five days he extended the front of our operations nearly one hundred and forty miles; and when at Tusculumbia he fired his morning gun, it could be distinctly heard by our army encamped on the field of Shiloh.

On the morning of the 8th of April a reconnoissance in force was made by the commands of Generals Sherman and Wood, and the fact established that the enemy had retreated beyond Lick Creek, having traveled all night on the 7th instant. The roads were in a terrible condition, and strewn with abandoned wagons, ambulances and limber-boxes. The enemy succeeded in carrying off his guns, but much crippled his batteries by abandoning the hind limber-boxes of at least twenty guns. An engagement also occurred with the enemy's cavalry, which resulted in their discomfiture and the capture of a rebel hospital camp wherein were two hundred and eighty wounded Confederate soldiers and fifty of our own.<sup>2</sup>

Amidst all these reverses which had so suddenly befallen their arms, the rebel army moved back to its intrenched position at Corinth, and awaited the onward movement of our army. Gradually it was moved forward, until at last it confronted the enemy's fortifications. But before decisive action could be

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2. See Official Report of General W. T. Sherman—"Rebellion Record," vol. iv: page 441.

again taken, much remained to be done. The base of operations for our army was now at Paducah, Kentucky. Supplies must be discharged at Crump's, Pittsburg and Hamburg Landings. The front of our army was several miles in extent, and must be supplied by the roads leading from these points; therefore, highways suitable to this heavy transportation must be constructed, and every preparation made effectually to secure them to our use.

On the same morning that Generals Sherman and Wood made their reconnoissance to the front, the SECOND DIVISION moved forward some two miles from its position near Pittsburg Landing, and bivouacked without tents until the 15th of April.<sup>8</sup> While here heavy details were made for fatigue duty, such as interring our own and the rebel dead, burying dead animals, and road-making. General Johnson returned on the 13th, and resumed command of his brigade. On the 15th the transportation came up from Savannah, and once more the division enjoyed the shelter of tents.

The command suffered severely from sickness while in this locality, occasioned by the exposure to which the men had been subjected for weeks, and the unwholesome surface water which they were compelled to use. From this time until arriving near Farmington, on the 10th of May, the division was constantly

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8. Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh, of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, on the 8th of April succeeded Colonel E. N. Kirk (wounded) in command of the fifth brigade.

engaged in reconnoissances, picket and fatigue duty. Occasionally the enemy appeared and harrassed the pickets, but a few shots always sufficed to put him to flight. On the 8th day of May one hundred men of the Twenty-ninth Indiana, Captain Henry G. Davis, and one hundred men of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Captain T. E. Rose, both under command of Colonel Innis, of the Michigan Engineers, and engaged in constructing a road near Seven-Mile Creek, were attacked by the enemy about nine o'clock in the morning. After a spirited resistance the enemy retreated and our men resumed work. The casualties on our side in this affair were one killed, two wounded, and one taken prisoner—all belonging to the Twenty-ninth Indiana.<sup>4</sup> The loss of the enemy is known to be four killed and two taken prisoners. The number of wounded is uncertain, as, if any, they were borne away in the retreat.

As the army neared Corinth a new disposition of its forces was made. It was divided into three distinct *corps-d'armee*—the Army of the Tennessee, Major General U. S. Grant, constituting the right wing; the Army of the Ohio, Major General D. C. Buell, the centre; and the Army of the Mississippi, Major General John Pope, the left wing. General Halleck was Commander-in-Chief, and General Grant second in command. The SECOND DIVISION was


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4. The casualties were as follows: Killed, Corporal John E. Oliver; wounded, Privates Joseph McDonald and John Hurtley—all of Company G.



ordered into camp on the 10th of May, as the reserve corps for the "Army of the Ohio"—a position considered as the post of honor, and conferred upon it because of its gallantry in action on the carnage-field of Shiloh.

Corinth was besieged. The policy adopted was to approach and intrench. The operation, although seemingly slow, was indeed rapid and sure. The object was to accomplish the reduction of the place with as little sacrifice of human life as possible. The enemy's works were constructed upon a position of great natural strength, and the attempt to carry them by surprise or by open force, even should it be successful, could but result in an immense sacrifice of valuable lives. Frequently have irregular operations and assaults been met with disastrous repulses, and at such times the commanding general is chargeable, and justly, with the lives of his men. Notwithstanding the unexpected and unfortunate termination of this siege, and despite the cavilings of civic critics and unthinking men, the day will come when the matters of this affair will be discussed in the light of impartial reason, and the policy thus pursued be approved by the American people. It reflects no discredit upon the commanding general, but proves beyond question that the rebel force was out-generaled and unable to maintain a defence. Subsequent developments proved further—that General Beauregard either never intended to maintain his position at Corinth, or that he was guilty of shameful incom-



petency in not employing all the resources of the engineer's art in rendering the position proof against assault. General Halleck had left no means unemployed to make the siege effective. A little time proved it to a demonstration.

The right and left wings of the army constantly carried forward their lines by dint of heavy fighting—fighting which then was considered in the light of mere *affairs*, but which in the earlier days of the war would have been regarded as serious and hotly contested battles. As rapidly as a position was gained it was intrenched and held. Thus the flanks of our army closed upon Corinth. The first line of intrenchments was erected when our centre was about four miles from the town. When the flanks were secured the centre advanced a mile and opened its first line of trenches. This was on the 17th of May. From this date the actual siege began. Its progress was marked by constant activity. Some where on the front, at all hours of the day, could be heard cannonading or the close rattle of musketry, indicative of the taking of new positions, and detachments on reconnoissance engaged in force or picket firing. Before the end of the siege so common had these become that even though long continued they excited no alarm, and hardly an inquiry as to their nature elsewhere than on the immediate front engaged.

On the 27th day of May reconnoissances on the grandest scale were made upon the centre and each flank of our line. That upon the centre was con-

ducted by General A. McD. McCook, with the SECOND DIVISION. The division moved to the front on the 26th, and bivouacked inside our line of intrenchments. On the morning of the 27th General Rousseau's brigade was ordered forward on the right and General Johnson's brigade on the left. The fifth brigade, Colonel Stumbaugh, supported Rousseau, and the brigade of General Robert L. McCook supported Johnson. The object of this movement was to dislodge the enemy from his position on the old Hamburg and Corinth road. The order was to drive the enemy until possession was gained of Bridge Creek, a little stream which ran through a deep morass and across the road. This was handsomely accomplished by the troops of Generals Rousseau's and Johnson's brigades, with the loss of only four men wounded—the enemy being evidently disconcerted at the suddenness and audacity of the movement.

That evening Colonel Stumbaugh was directed to relieve the picket line of General Rousseau's brigade. Accordingly the Twenty-ninth Indiana and Thirty-fourth Illinois were ordered on outpost duty,—the former occupying the right and the latter the left of the line, which extended along the course of the creek. While this was being done a severe skirmish was kept up along Johnson's front, the enemy pressing our lines at that point. Night ended this engagement. The instructions governing the entire front of the division were to hold the positions gained at

every hazard. Soon after daylight on the 28th the enemy advanced in considerable force and assailed the left of Colonel Stumbaugh's line, resting upon the road, and in a few moments after the right of Johnson's, where was posted the Thirty-second Indiana. The fight increased in briskness, but our line contested the ground. The outposts of the Thirty-fourth Illinois consisted of companies B, G and K, under command of Captain D. C. Wagner, of the last named company. Company E was posted as reserve, in close supporting distance. Owing to the acute angles of the line, caused by the windings of the creek, the enemy was enabled to enfilade this portion of the front, and thereby forced it to fall back upon the reserve, company E. The enemy pressed this advantage, but the line again steadily advanced, reinforced by company E, and drove the enemy back with some loss. The Thirty-second Indiana aided in the repulse from its position, resting upon the left of the road. Again the attack was renewed, and the line forced back as before, but a second time the enemy was repulsed. Captain Wagner now informed Lieutenant Colonel Bristol, commanding the regiment, that the line must be changed so as to conform to strength in the position, and not to the creek. The reply was that the original formation must be maintained. The enemy again advanced with an increased force, and poured forth a terrible enfilade fire—a fire which no troops could withstand. Captain Wagner then changed the line

on his own responsibility, by withdrawing it from the creek, so as to uncover the fire secured by the serpentine conformation of the creek, and reported the fact to Lieutenant Colonel Bristol. The right of General Johnson's line also withdrew sufficiently to conform to this new disposition. Meantime the line was reinforced by six companies of the Thirtieth Indiana. This position was held against all attempts to force it, and upon consultation it was deemed best to rest it there. The enemy, thus foiled, placed a strong skirmish line along the entire division front, and kept up a rapid fire during the day. Upon the second repulse of Captain Wagner's command, company H of that regiment was ordered to his support, and participated in the third assault. The right of this brigade line, consisting of companies D and F of that regiment, also a portion of the Twenty-ninth Indiana, met with no serious resistance, they holding their position simply by its strength and the command it gave them over the enemy's approach.<sup>5</sup> General Johnson was equally successful. Every attempt of the enemy to force his position was instantly met and the enemy repulsed. At one time during the day the attack was very determined, and an engagement ensued which for a few moments it was thought

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5. It is impossible to present the movements of Rousseau's and Johnson's brigades in this affair, as no official reports or data of it are preserved in the records. It was in general character, however, similar to that of Colonel Stumbaugh's command—only devolving upon them the driving of the enemy to gain the position for our intrenchments. This will account for the lack of detail of movements in these brigades.

might lead to a battle. General Rousseau was also active, and the enemy gained no advantage over him. In conjunction with General Johnson he cleared the front and occupied Serat's Hill, <sup>6</sup> a valuable position for us, as it placed our siege guns within one thousand yards of the enemy's line of intrenchments. Night again closed the contest, and under its cover and the powerful supports of Johnson's and Rousseau's brigades, three thousand men, the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania among them, moved to the front at eleven o'clock, and by daylight in the morning threw up twelve hundred yards of earthworks. The last position was now secured preparatory to the general attack, soon expected.

About five o'clock on Friday morning, the 30th of May, the different commanders on the front felt forward, but all reported the enemy's pickets in force in the timber land in front. The morning opened excessively warm; not a breath of air disturbed the luxuriant foliage of the forest,—sultriness marked the day, and the fevered brow told plainly how the human system was affected by the unusual heat. All

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6. The following is a list of casualties in the Thirty-fourth Illinois and the Thirty-second Indiana regiments:

*Thirty-fourth Illinois*—Company B: wounded, Private Henry Giles. Company E: killed, Private E. Ragin; wounded, Corporal L. H. Lee. Company H: wounded, Privates Daniel Sadler and Michael Nugent. Company K: wounded, Privates Z. Tomlinson and E. P. Beardsley.

*Thirty-second Indiana*—Company A: wounded, Private Henry Schoper. Company B: wounded, Private Henry Grossworth. Company D: wounded, Private John Riegelroth (died). Company K: wounded, Private Joseph Weinhoepfel.

There is no list of casualties, if any, in other regiments of the division.

anticipated that the ball would open that day, and that a contest would commence which in its grand results should far exceed Shiloh, and herald to the world the infliction of a death-blow to the great rebel army of the South-West.

About six o'clock explosions were heard which sounded much like the discharge of a battery of heavy guns. This was followed by others at intervals of a minute or two, and soon a dense volume of smoke arose above Corinth. "What is that?" asked the soldiers. "A powder magazine blown up!" exclaimed some. "The rebels are retreating, and are destroying everything!" said others. The mystery was soon solved.

When the explosion occurred General W. T. Sherman telegraphed to General Halleck to ascertain the cause. He replied that he could not explain it, and ordered him to advance his division and feel the enemy, if still in his front.<sup>7</sup> He at once put a part of his division in motion, and soon followed with the remainder. Having advanced some thirteen hundred yards, he came upon the enemy's works, but they were evacuated. His force pushed on into Corinth, but the foe had fled, and a considerable portion of the town was in flames. He sent his command in pursuit of the fleeing foe. It followed up to the crossing of Tuscumbia Creek, but the main army

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7. See General W. T. Sherman's Official Report—"Rebellion Record," vol. v: page 149.

had escaped. Shortly after a large column under General Pope renewed the pursuit, but with indifferent success.

Meantime General McCook's division was ordered into Corinth, but returned that day to its old camping ground, in front of the rebel works.

Thus ended the siege of Corinth. The enemy, full of vain boastings and bluster, had dared the Union army to leave the shelter of his gunboats on the Tennessee, and encounter him at Corinth. There he would stake the fate of Southern nationality ;—there he would teach the mercenary invaders of Southern soil the fearful "lesson of war!"—a lesson which, forcing us back across the Tennessee, should break in twain the *prestige* of our arms and forever destroy all hope of the subjugation of the Southern people, who were born to be free—free as the air they breathed!

Immediately after the defeat of the rebels under Van Dorn, at Pea Ridge, his troops joined the army at Corinth, and on the 2d of May Beauregard issued the following address to the united forces :

#### SOLDIERS OF SHILOH AND ELKHORN :

We are about to meet once more in the shock of battle the invaders of our soil, the despoilers of our homes, the disturbers of our family ties, face to face and hand to hand. We are to decide whether we are to be freemen or the vile slaves of those who are free only in name, and who but yesterday were vanquished, although in largely superior numbers, in their own encampment on the ever-memorable field of Shiloh. Let the impending battle decide our fate.




and add a more illustrious page to the history of our revolution—one to which our children will point with noble pride, saying, "Our fathers were at the battle of Corinth!"

I congratulate you on your timely junction. With your mingled banners, for the first time during the war, we shall meet the foe in strength that should give us victory. Soldiers, can the result be doubtful? Shall we not drive back into Tennessee the presumptuous mercenaries collected for our subjugation? One more manly effort, and, trusting in God and the justness of our cause, we shall recover more than we have lately lost. Let the sound of our victorious guns be re-echoed by those of the army of Virginia on the historic battle-field of Yorktown.

The events of the 30th of May proved how well they maintained the coming conflict which Beauregard predicted in his address. No better *resume* can be given of this affair—a victory so brilliant to us, a defeat so humiliating to them—than is contained in General W. T. Sherman's congratulatory order to his troops, dated the 31st of May:

"But a few days ago a large and powerful rebel army lay at Corinth, with outposts extending to our very camp at Shiloh. They held two railroads extending north and south, east and west, across the whole extent of their country, with a vast number of locomotives and cars, to bring to them, speedily and certainly, their reinforcements and supplies. They called to their aid all their armies from every quarter, abandoning the sea coast and the great river Mississippi, that they might overwhelm us with numbers in the place of their own choosing. They had their chosen leaders, men of high reputation and courage, and they dared us to leave the cover of our iron-clad gunboats to come to fight them in their trenches and still more dangerous swamps and ambuscades of their Southern forests. Their whole country from Richmond to Memphis and Nashville to Mobile rang with their taunts and boastings as to how they would immolate the Yankees if they dared to



leave the Tennessee river. They boldly and defiantly challenged us to meet them at Corinth. We accepted the challenge, and came slowly, and without attempt at concealment, to the very ground of their selection, and they have fled away. We yesterday marched unopposed through the burning embers of their destroyed camps and property, and pursued them to their swamps until burning bridges plainly confessed they had fled, and not marched away for better ground. It is a victory as brilliant and important as any recorded in history, and every officer and soldier who lent his aid has just reason to be proud of his part.

“No amount of sophistry or words from the leaders of the rebellion can succeed in giving the evacuation of Corinth, under the circumstances, any other title than that of a signal defeat—more humiliating to them and their cause than if we had entered the place over the dead and mangled bodies of their soldiers. We are not here to kill and slay, but to vindicate the honor and just authority of that government which has been bequeathed to us by our honored fathers, and to whom we would be recreant if we permitted their work to pass to our children marred and spoiled by ambitious and wicked rebels.”

The SECOND DIVISION remained in its old encampment in front of Corinth, as reserve, until the 6th of June. Meantime the command lost two valuable officers. On the 2d of June the following order was issued :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, }  
IN CAMP, JUNE 2, 1862. }

[*General Orders, No. 19.*]

In pursuance of orders from the War Department, the leave of absence granted Captain B. F. Smith, of the Sixth United States Infantry, to enable him to command the First Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, is recalled, and Captain Smith will join his company.

The General Commanding cannot too strongly express his approbation of the conduct of Captain Smith, in his

capacity of Colonel of the First Ohio Volunteers, and he trusts this fine regiment may be as well commanded in the future as it has been in the past.

By command of Major General Buell.

JAMES B. FRY, A. A. G., Chief of Staff.

On the 5th of June Captain Henry Clay, Assistant Adjutant General of the sixth brigade, departed this life, after a long and painful illness. The following order was issued on the 6th instant :

CAMP IN THE FIELD, JUNE 6, 1862.

*Orders.*

The melancholy duty devolves upon the commander of the brigade to announce to its members the death of Captain Henry Clay, who departed this life in Louisville yesterday.

Captain Clay was the grandson of the venerable Henry Clay, and son of Colonel Henry Clay, who fell at Buena Vista, while gallantly leading his regiment into action.

The gallantry and coolness exhibited by the deceased on the bloody field of Shiloh elicited the admiration of all, and by his unassuming and urbane manners he became a universal favorite with the brigade. His loss will be seriously felt—the service losing one of its brightest ornaments, and the brigade an efficient adjutant general.

By order of Brigadier General Johnson.

WILLIAM C. TURNER, A. A. A. G.

The same day the division moved and established camp some two miles south of Corinth. Here it lay until the 10th of June, when, in conjunction with the other divisions of General Buell's army, it moved eastward, into East Tennessee.

By virtue of General Orders number sixty-two of the War Department, June 8, 1862, another change

was made in the jurisdiction of commands. The first section of this order declared :

"THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI is extended so as to include the whole of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky. All officers on duty in those States will report to Major General Halleck."

And further, on the 12th instant another order was issued, defining the jurisdiction of the "District of Ohio :"

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }  
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI, JUNE 12, 1862. }

[*General Orders No. 33.*]

The States of Kentucky and Tennessee east of the Tennessee river, except Forts Henry and Donelson, and such portions of North Alabama and Georgia as are or may be occupied by our troops, will constitute the District of the Ohio, under command of Major General Buell. All officers will report accordingly. General Buell will take measures to relieve the troops of General Grant's command, now stationed at Clarksville.

\* \* \* \* \*

By command of Major General Halleck.

J. C. KELTON, Assistant Adjutant General.

The fortifications of Corinth were not what had been expected. The position was the enemy's own selection. In itself it was strong and capable of defence against assault. The enemy had occupied it since the battle of Shiloh, and indeed for a month previous, and had all this time to erect works which to a great extent should be impregnable. Besides, they considered Corinth the key to the cotton States, for, once in our possession, we had control of the

entire railroad system of the South-West. Ordinary military prudence would have dictated a continuous line of intrenchments around a place of such importance, if it was intended to be occupied as a defensive point. That they did is proven by the concentration of their trans-Mississippi force to assist in its maintenance; but instead of this system of defences there were only detached redoubts, supported in part by a parapet and ditch, and in part by a simple line of rifle-pits—the latter far inferior in strength to the parallels thrown up by the Federal troops in a single night.

When the evacuation occurred our lines were close upon the rebel intrenchments. When the SECOND DIVISION moved into Corinth it had not proceeded a thousand yards before their works burst upon the sight in all their terrible extent. Only a narrow but dense strip of timber had masked them from our view. The position was high and commanding. The woods had been felled in front for the distance of three hundred yards, and formed into an *abattis*, which served seriously to impede progress and to give a splendid field of fire to and beyond the main road of approach. All their artillery had been removed from the works. Here and there along the parapet were mounted the invincible quaker guns of Manassas memory, manned by stuffed images of men dressed in rebel uniform. These wooden guns, painted coal black, presented the appearance of real cannon to one approaching. On many of these were

inscriptions, penciled for the gaze and wonderment of our soldiers when they should occupy the defences. They were highly suggestive, but utterly devoid of merit, either in expression or composition.<sup>8</sup>

CORINTH is rather a pleasant village, of perhaps twelve hundred inhabitants. It is situated upon low ground, which in seasons of heavy rain must give it the appearance of a swamp. It is a position of commercial as well as military importance, and for the same reasons. Many of the private residences are large, and present an air of comfort. Shrubbery decorate the yards of the wealthy, while the forest trees are still left standing in the streets and walks, which give it a romantic and pleasing aspect. A considerable portion of the business part of the town, used by the rebels for public storehouses, and filled with supplies for their army, was burned, together with the depot and several warehouses connected with it. Some thirty bales of cotton were burning

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8. The following effusion is from the brain of a soldier of the Fifth Georgia regiment, and bears date of May 27th, 1862. It is one among others found posed on the stuffed images at the quaker guns inside their intrenchments:

**"TO THE GRAND ARMY WHICH ENJOYS THESE BREASTWORKS.**

This brave fellow fell at the battle of Shiloh,  
And is put here to scare the crowd.  
Look out! he guards a gun,  
Such as at Manassas made you run!  
You put great confidence in your General Halleck;—  
He has given you much fighting with the pick!  
How is Front Royal and Winchester, you poor old stick?  
The time you made was good as Bull Run, or faster!  
We've stood guard *here* two months, waiting for you to *advance*,  
And now we think we'll lead you a beautiful dance.  
We have a man to BRAGG on while in these trenches:  
Our BEAU is for you—our REGARD for your ladies."

near the public square, and the platform which surrounded the "Tishimingo House," a large and commodious building, was also on fire, but was extinguished by the efforts of our soldiers. The explosions heard in the morning were caused by the destruction of a large quantity of powder and shell, which the enemy was unable to carry away. Quite a quantity of ordnance and commissary stores still remained in the place—the rear guard, under Van Dorn, having failed to destroy it—such as cannon balls, shot, shells, sugar, molasses, beans and rice, all of which were confiscated to federal use.

The rebel army retreated first to Baldwin, and then to Tupelo, Mississippi, and there they experienced the mortification of continued disasters. The evacuation of Corinth opened still further the passage-way of the Mississippi. On the 4th of June Fort Pillow was abandoned, and on the 6th the rebel gunboat fleet was destroyed or captured by our flotilla, and Memphis surrendered. The army was now divided in accordance with the necessities of the new posture of affairs, and each prepared for its own part in the new campaign.

The preparations now made by the Federal Government for its new plan of operations exceeded in magnitude all military movements attempted since the inauguration of the war. It was to expel the rebel forces from Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi, to capture Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and to clear the Mississippi river of hostile forces, and

to drive out the fragments of a rebel army and the bands of guerrillas and desperadoes still infesting Missouri and Arkansas. For the accomplishment of this grand enterprise, our army, inspired and emboldened by so many signal successes, were concentrated each in its field of action. General McClelland, with his army at Memphis, prepared to move down the river. General Grant fronted the enemy in Mississippi, at Holly Springs. Another adequate force was moving westward of the Mississippi. The gunboat fleet was ready to co-operate with McClelland, while General Buell, with his magnificent body of troops, was destined to operate in East Tennessee, Northern Alabama and Georgia. This plan of operations was stupendous in its extent, and promised success. By it not only the ground already gained would be maintained, but the enemy would be forced from the Mississippi into the very heart of the Confederacy, and even close upon the seaboard of the Gulf of Mexico. Such was the projected campaign for the West.

Thus far we have confined ourself to a description of the country through which the army passed, the character of the people inhabiting it, and the military operations of the SECOND DIVISION since organized and in the field. We may now, perhaps, with both pleasure and profit turn to the contemplation of him who organized and led it to victory on at least two ever-memorable occasions—the fields of Shiloh and Corinth.



To truthfully and justly write the history of a public man while living, and especially when still in the arena of action, is a most difficult and perplexing task. He must be viewed at all points and in every shade of light, as the connoisseur would examine the canvas of an eminent artist; for from whatever standpoint viewed, in whatever light exposed, there will be some new feature, some characteristic, some virtue or some blemish, some peculiar tinting or trait unobserved before, and which cannot fail to create emotions of pleasure or excite criticism. It is not right to attempt an alteration of character—to render a man superior to what he really is, to adorn his life by fanciful, figurative language, with a personality which he never possessed; nor is it proper to undervalue character or underrate talents which have been brought to the high position of ministering to the public weal. Man shows best when he stands forth in his own originality of character. These are the elements of his greatness or his weakness—these make or unmake the man.

It has been well said that "every man has his time and place." No man but what finds his position in society—finds the labor he is adapted to perform, and the opportunity to demonstrate his capacity in executing it. To judge of the military character of an individual is to know truly the peculiar duties he has to perform, the means afforded him for the accomplishment of the end, and the success resulting therefrom. Viewed from this stand-point a very


correct estimate of character may be obtained, justice meted out, the people truly informed and history vindicated.

ALEXANDER McDOWELL McCook was born in Columbiana county, Ohio, April 22d, 1831. At an early age he displayed a natural inclination for the military profession, and in 1847, when only sixteen years old, he was entered in the Military Academy at West Point. Young McCook was frank, generous and companionable in disposition, and became a favorite with his classmates. He did not exhibit that application to study, unremitting energy and lofty ambition which characterized some cadets, and stimulated them to the honor of being the highest in rank in the graduating class; nor was he so confined to strictly military studies as to become bigoted in that profession and dogmatic in the theories it inculcated, or, like some, become so inwrapped in the teachings of a favorite study as to unfit his mind for the appreciation of other fields in science and literature. While attentive to his legitimate studies, he did not forget or despise those finer classics which add elegance, beauty and symmetry to a more solid and practical education. His integrity, his quickness of parts, his strict attention in the performance of duty, won him the esteem and confidence of his preceptors and associates, so that upon graduation, although he possessed not a brilliant reputation for his acquirements, he had what is preferable, perhaps, the standing of good substantial *merit*.

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Having completed his course at West Point in July, 1852, he was commissioned brevet second lieutenant in the Third Infantry, and assigned to duty at Newport Barracks. In April, 1853, he was ordered to join his regiment, then serving in New Mexico. He remained with it until 1858, being constantly on active duty in the field, and participating in many of the exciting Indian campaigns of that wild frontier. He was then recalled by order of the Secretary of War, and assigned to the Military Academy at West Point, as Instructor in Tactics and the Art of War. Here he had ample opportunity to display the solidity of his acquirements when a cadet, and his ability to demonstrate clearly and satisfactorily the application of the great principles of war.

It is evident that as an instructor he was appreciated, for he continued in this position until the outbreak of the rebellion. His was not a nature which could consent to while away life in the theory and speculation of military movements upon geographical maps, when the roar of distant artillery at Sumter and the gathering storm which settled so gloomily around the political horizon plainly indicated that the grander tactics which should marshal and manœuvre armies in the field was speedily to succeed. McCook was therefore relieved as Instructor; and when, on the 17th of April, 1861, President Lincoln issued his proclamation for seventy-five thousand volunteers, he was ordered to Columbus, Ohio, as mustering officer for the troops of that State. But



this was not to be his arena of action. Ohio had already nobly responded to the call of our country, and her citizens had flocked under the old banner of the republic, ready to do battle in its defence. Without his knowledge or solicitation he was elected colonel of the First Ohio Volunteer Infantry—a mark of appreciation displayed by his fellow townsmen, as grateful to his pride as it was just to his merits. He hastened to join his new command. The field was now open before him, and success or defeat as a commander was now to stamp his career and his memory. In a short time his regiment arrived at the seat of war, and was assigned to the command of General Schenck.

On the 17th of June, while his troops were on a reconnoitering expedition, they were fired upon by a masked rebel battery, in position near Vienna, Virginia. The fire was sudden and very destructive, and threw the troops into confusion ; but McCook, filled with courage and flushed with hopes, exposed himself with his soldiers to the greatest danger, and by his coolness and skill rallied them into line and retired without further loss.

On the 21st of July came the fiery ordeal of Bull Run. The First Ohio was in Tyler's column, and acted well its part in the bloody tragedy of that eventful day. It was in line with other regiments since known to fame—the Second Wisconsin, and the Thirteenth, Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth New York. It is reported and believed that McCook's

command fired the first shot in that battle—an engagement so desperately contested, so promising of success at noon-day, so changed into disastrous defeat ere sundown. All through the day his column faced the foe and dealt death-shots thick and fast; but though defeat rested upon our banners, though the blood of thousands of brave men was quaffed by the parched earth beneath that hot July sun, still despair did not settle upon the hearts of the brave Western boys; and slowly and sullenly they left the field of battle—led by the youthful commander of their choice, and who that day reflected honor upon himself and them by his gallant bearing—in the same martial order with which in the morning they had marched from Centreville to meet the enemy. This fatal battle-ground is always named by our people with emotions of thrilling interest. They lament the heroes who had fallen so early in the struggle for nationality, but the dark relief of this scene of carnage is illumined by the magnificent conduct and the prodigies of valor wrought that day by many of our noble warriors. Among commanders none ever evinced more coolness, judgment, gallantry and intrepidity than Colonel McCook. His conduct was highly complimented in the official reports of his superior officers. For the First Ohio it was a glorious day. The commander and the regiment each felt proud of the other. The State was honored by their noble conduct on the field—the nation thanked them for their services.

The term of enlistment of his command had expired several days previous to the battle of the 21st of July, but his men generously resolved to remain in the field until the campaign then pending had ended, and participate, if possible, in what was then supposed would be the decisive affair of the war—a decision which reflects a halo of glory upon their names.

Now that the contest for a time had ended, they returned home and were duly mustered out of the service, but at once proceeded to a reorganization under the President's call for three-years' volunteers. Authority to raise this regiment for three years or the war had already been conferred upon Colonel McCook; but on the 3d of September, 1861, before his regiment was ready for active service, he was appointed brigadier general, and assigned the command of the advance Federal forces, then at Camp Nevin, Kentucky. Here he commenced the organization of the SECOND DIVISION, whose eventful history these pages aim truthfully and impartially to record. Of his career while in this command it is not necessary here to speak: it is evidenced by his acts and the character which his command so rapidly and nobly achieved, and acts speak more forcibly for reputation than words.

The discipline and *morale* of the SECOND DIVISION were signally displayed on the field of Shiloh. Of this enough has been said. It was ably, skillfully and judiciously handled by General McCook; and

the gallant manner in which it repulsed the last decided stand of the enemy in the woods beyond General Sherman's camp, is already matter of history. General Buell in his official report specially commended General McCook "to the favor of the Government, for his distinguished gallantry and good conduct."

In the siege of Corinth, which followed directly after, he again distinguished himself for the masterly manner in which he conducted the division. It was an affair of magnitude and difficulty, involving long-continued fighting and the exercise of high military talent, but it was crowned with the most brilliant success.

After the evacuation of Corinth General McCook moved with his command eastward through Tusculum, Florence, Athens, Huntsville and Stevenson, to Battle Creek, Tennessee. On the 17th of July, and while encamped here, he was appointed major general of volunteers, for "his gallant conduct and distinguished services in the battle of Shiloh and the siege of Corinth." On the 19th instant he assumed the command of all the United States forces at and in the vicinity of Battle Creek, including the forces at Bridgeport. His command then consisted of his own division and portions of Generals Crittenden's and Rousseau's (Mitchell's) commands. These, however, were only temporarily attached, and on or before leaving Battle Creek they proceeded to their proper organizations; but from the 19th of July General

McCook cannot properly be said to have been in immediate command of the SECOND DIVISION. While on the retreat to Louisville, caused by the threatened invasion of Bragg's army into Kentucky, he manoeuvred with excellent judgment and skill, and escaped, although the rebel forces for miles were moving parallel with and but a short distance from him. General Buell's army was concentrated at Murfreesboro and Nashville, and prepared to operate against the enemy. General Negley was left in command of the defences at Nashville, with a competent force, and the rest of the army moved by rapid marches on Louisville.

Here the Army of the Ohio was reorganized, and Major General McCook assigned to the command of the first corps. It was comprised of his old division, then commanded by General J. W. Sill, and the divisions of Generals Rousseau and Jackson. The last command consisted of raw troops, just entered the field and in a very imperfect state of discipline. The forward movement commenced on the 1st of October. Bragg's army was then concentrated at Bardstown. As our army moved out Bragg withdrew from that place, with the probable intention of uniting with the rebel forces under E. Kirby Smith, who had been operating in Eastern Kentucky, had threatened Cincinnati and defeated the Union forces under General William Nelson. It was supposed the point of concentration would be Danville, and General Buell accordingly ordered his corps forward to



Perryville and Harrodsburg. On the night of the 6th information was received that Kirby Smith had crossed the Kentucky river at Salvisa. It became evident then that Harrodsburg or Perryville would be the point of rebel junction, and the corps which was marching on Harrodsburg was changed to Perryville. On the evening of the 7th of October General Buell sent the following instructions to General McCook:

OCTOBER 7—8 O'CLOCK, P. M.

GENERAL,—The third corps (Gilbert's) is within three and a half miles of Perryville, the cavalry being nearer—probably within two and a half miles. From all the information gained to-day, it seems probable that the enemy will resist our advance into the town. They are said to have a strong force in and near the place. There is no water here, and we will get but little, if any, until we get it at Perryville. We expect to attack and carry the place to-morrow. *March at three o'clock precisely to-morrow morning*, without fail, and move up till the head of your column gets within three or three and a half miles of Perryville; that is to say, until you are abreast of the third corps. The left of this corps rests near Bottom's place. Perhaps Captain Williams, of Jackson's cavalry, will know where it is. From the point of the road Gilbert is now on across direct to your road is about two and a half or three miles. When the head of your column gets to the vicinity designated, (three or three and a half miles from the town) halt and form it in order of battle, and let the rear close well up; then let the men rest in position and be made as comfortable as possible, but do not permit them to scatter. Have the country on your front examined, a reconnoissance made, and collect all the information possible in regard to the enemy, and the country and roads in your vicinity, and then *report in person* as quickly as practicable to these headquarters. If your men have an opportunity to get water of any kind they must fill their canteens, and the

officers must caution them particularly to use it in the most sparing manner. Send to the rear every wagon and animal which is not required with your column. All the usual precautions must be taken, and preparations made for action. Keep all teams back, except ammunition and ambulances. Nothing has been heard from you to-day. Send orderlies by bearer to learn the locality of these headquarters. The General desires to see Captain Williams, Jackson's cavalry, by seven o'clock in the morning, at these headquarters.

Respectfully, etc.,

JAMES B. FREY, A. A. G., Chief of Staff.

Through some unaccountable delay these instructions failed to reach General McCook, in camp at Maxville, ten miles distant from Perryville, until half past two in the morning of the 8th instant—within *half an hour* of the time at which he was directed to move. As soon thereafter as possible (five o'clock in the morning of the 8th) his corps was in motion in the direction indicated. General Rousseau led the advance, General Jackson following. General Sill's division had been detached, and was marching on Frankfort. The head of General McCook's column reached the point designated in his instructions at half-past ten o'clock, A. M., on the 8th instant. He then proceeded to carry out *to the letter* the orders given him by General Buell. He made a personal examination of the ground, observed the enemy's movements, directed General Rousseau's attention to them, marked out his line of battle, ordered him to form upon it, made every necessary preparation to resist attack, and then, having given instructions to his chief of staff and General Rousseau, he proceeded,

in obedience to his instructions of the 7th instant, to *report in person* to General Buell. His headquarters were about two and a half miles to the rear and right of General McCook's front. Having reported he received instructions from General Buell to make a reconnoissance down to Chaplin river, and at once returned to his corps and ordered the reconnoissance to be made. Shortly after the attack was made upon his left, and rapidly extended along his entire front. In a few moments it raged in all its fury, the rebels advancing in overwhelming force. The fiercest attack was upon Terrell's brigade. In an instant General Jackson, commanding that division, was killed, and Terrell's men, being new troops and hard pressed, gave way in confusion—their noble commander, who with his famous battery at Shiloh had won such an enviable reputation and the star that gleamed upon his shoulder, doing all that mortal could do to restore steadiness and confidence in his ranks, but it was of no avail. Those undisciplined troops were no match for the veterans of the South, and they could not be made to resist their terrific onslaughts in battle. About four o'clock, while striving to rally them to the support of a battery, he received a mortal wound. Then the nation lost a hero.

It is not the province of this sketch to delineate the minute movements of this fearful contest; nor is it a subject for record in this work. The country knows how the line was assailed; how the enemy, repulsed, charged again and again; how bravely our

veterans, aided by some of the new troops, who in generous rivalry sought to emulate their coolness and zeal, met the successive charges of the foe like a wall of iron; how, when forced back, they rallied on the first vantage ground, and waited grimly the renewal of the attack; how repeatedly, when all available troops were engaged in General McCook's front, he called for aid, while the wished-for succor came only when it seemed that resistance could no longer be made, and that not only the honor of the command would be compromised, but the lives of all threatened with destruction; how, when at last reinforced, the contest for a short time continued in all its fury, the rebels receiving and inflicting terrible slaughter, each resolved "to do or die," was ended by night drawing her sable curtain o'er the tragic scene, and hushing its actors into deep and exhausted slumber; how the battle front was arranged for the morrow, and how, during the night, the haughty rebel host, conquered in battle upon ground of his own choosing, retreated from the field, leaving his dead and wounded to the burial and hospital care of federal hands,—all this is history.

The battle of CHAPLIN HILLS will ever be held as one of the bloodiest in the scroll of our nation's history. Although not as decisive and as fruitful as wished, it was, nevertheless, highly important. The object of the invasion of Kentucky by the Confederate forces was a permanent occupation. This is clearly evidenced by the manner in which the State

was invaded ; the tenacity with which the enemy held his position when our forces were preparing to move upon him ; the immediate inauguration of the Confederate State Government, organized at Russellville the previous year ; the rapid enforcement of the Confederate conscription law ; the declarations of the Southern press and the rebel troops in the field, and the concurring testimony of citizens throughout the section of the State where the rebel army passed. It is further demonstrated from the indignation of the Confederate troops when forced to retreat, the evident dissatisfaction of the secessionists in the State, and the long-continued and bitter wailings of the Southern press at what they characterized "a disastrous campaign and damaging defeat."

In this engagement General Bragg adopted the usual policy of the rebel generals, and massed his forces for attack. He moved from Harrodsburg to Perryville purposely to give battle, and undoubtedly thought that by attacking General McCook's column with an overwhelming force, he could crush it before it could be reinforced, and thus be prepared to encounter General Buell's forces in detail, and not fear the result, as he well knew the thousands of new Union troops were no obstacle to the daring bravery of his own men ; or else he considered that by a crushing defeat of General McCook's column he would so cripple the Federal army that it would not be in a condition to advance upon him, and thus he would be enabled to make his escape, bearing with

him such stores as could be gathered in the line of his retreat.

But Bragg's attack by no means secured him his anticipated success. From two o'clock until dark he hurled again and again his columns—three divisions, fully thirty thousand strong—against the corps of General McCook, only fourteen thousand men, six thousand of these being raw recruits—Rousseau's command of seven thousand bearing, almost unsustained, the brunt of the strife; and yet by these noble men he was defeated, and ventured not to risk a battle on the morrow, but hastily withdrew from the State. Thus ended the great rebel invasion—thus ended its well-laid plans of permanent occupation—thus were nipped in the bud the hopes of the Southern mind, its golden dreams of conquest, and the cheering promises, pledged by friends over-confident in the strength of the rebel cause, that once among Kentuckians, with a force which could protect them, the standard of revolt would be unfurled.

This battle for a long time furnished themes for discussion. Some, with that proneness which ever marks the reckless and unknowing, charged the responsibility of this affair upon General McCook. But nothing is further from the truth. It was in obedience to instructions from General Buell that General McCook threw his force upon the bank of Chaplin river. It was while in this position that the rebel army engaged it. General McCook, like a true and chivalrous soldier, seeing the contest commenced,

determined to defend his line, and if necessary rally the army to his aid. It is not his fault that it did not come promptly. Three times he appealed for help; but the glory of that day, the honor of defeating the rebel army and forcing it from the State, rests with him, and history, when the din and confusion of this contest is lulled into peace—when the smoke from the battle-field is cleared away, and calm Reason asserts her sway, will accord to him and his gallant officers and soldiers the victor's meed of praise.

The Army of the Ohio pursued the enemy to Crab Orchard, Kentucky. Then, anticipating a movement of the enemy into Middle Tennessee, it was advanced in that direction, and had reached Glasgow and Bowling Green, when, on the 30th of October, General Buell was relieved from command by General W. S. Rosecrans. General McCook moved on to Nashville with his corps, and on the 6th of November was placed at the head of the forces in the vicinity of that city. Upon the reorganization of the army, which was now denominated the "Fourteenth Army Corps," or the "Army of the Cumberland," he was assigned the command of the right wing, consisting of the divisions of Generals Davis, Sill and Sheridan.

On the 26th of November, 1862, the Army of the Cumberland moved forward to offer the enemy battle. His main force was at Murfreesboro, but his advance troops and pickets approached within a few miles of our own front. The army at once commenced skir-

mishing with the enemy, steadily pushing him back upon his main line. On the night of the 30th of December the army moved into position, and prepared to offer battle on the morrow. That battle, too, with all its vicissitudes of struggle, has passed into history. The operations of General McCook's corps are hereafter minutely enough described, and need no mention now. There are, however, certain facts which should be placed on record, and which, clearly understood, will serve well in explaining the cause of the repulse of the right wing on the 30th of December, and render justice to those gallant officers and men, who fought resolutely and desperately against overwhelming odds, and who at last gave the enemy his first decided repulse of the day.

General Rosecrans, in his official report of the action, states that "at nine o'clock, P. M., the corps commanders met at the headquarters of the general commanding, who explained to them the following

#### PLAN OF THE BATTLE.

McCook was to occupy the most advantageous position, refusing his right as much as practicable and necessary to secure it; to receive the attack of the enemy, or, if that did not come, to attack himself, sufficient to hold all the force on his front.

Thomas and Palmer to open with skirmishing, and gain the enemy's centre and left, as far as the river.

Crittenden to cross Van Cleve's division at the lower ford, covered and supported by the Sappers and Miners, and to advance on Breckinridge.

Wood's division to follow by brigades, crossing at the upper ford, and moving on Van Cleve's right, to carry everything into Murfreesboro.



Then, in explanation of this plan of battle, General Rosecrans in his official report further says :

This would have given us two divisions against one, and as soon as Breckinridge had been dislodged from his position, the batteries of Wood's division, taking position on the heights east of Stone river, in advance, would see the enemy's works in reverse, would dislodge them, and enable Palmer's division to press them back and drive them westward across the river, or through the woods, while Thomas, sustaining the movement on the centre, would advance on the right of Palmer, crushing their right ; and Crittenden's corps, advancing, would take Murfreesboro, and then moving westward on the Franklin road, get in their flank and rear, and drive them into the country, toward Salem, with a prospect of cutting off their retreat, and probably destroying their army.

It was explained to them that this combination, ensuring us a vast superiority on our left, required for its success that General McCook should be able to hold his position for three hours ; that if necessary to recede at all, he should recede as he had advanced on the preceding day, slowly as steadily, refusing his right, thereby rendering our success certain."

Having thus explained the plan, the general commanding addressed General McCook as follows : " You know the ground—you have fought over its difficulties. Can you hold your present position for three hours ? " To which General McCook responded, " Yes, I think I can. " The general commanding then added : " I don't like the facing so much to the east, but must confide that to you, who know the ground. If you don't think your present the best position, change it. " The officers then returned to their commands.

The operations commenced on the morning of the 31st of December, in accordance with the indicated plan. It thus appears that General Rosecrans massed his reserves upon his left, with the feasible intention of crushing the rebel right by force of numerical strength. Further to insure the success of this plan, General Rosecrans, at six o'clock in the evening of the 30th, ordered General McCook to have large and extended camp-fires made on his right, to deceive the enemy, making them believe that we were massing troops there. "This order," says General McCook, "was communicated to General Stanley, commanding the cavalry, and carried into execution by Major R. H. Nodine, of the Twenty-fifth Illinois, engineer officer on my staff." It is proper here to remark that General Rosecrans does not mention the building of these fires in his report.

Had this *ruse* succeeded in its object and operated only to have compelled Bragg to concentrate more of his force upon his left, and thus weakened the right of his line, and with this disposition awaited the attack of our forces, it is highly probable the rout of the enemy would have been speedy and complete, and the battle brilliant and decisive. But the *ruse* signally failed, unhappily, in its ulterior design. General Bragg, observing the apparent extent of our line on the right, and there being no indications of an attack upon his right, left only Breckenridge's division in position on that flank and concentrated the remainder of his forces on his right and centre,

resolving to move upon our right at day-light. This vantage of time secured to the rebel host the most important results. They proceeded to the attack of General McCook's corps in three heavy columns, regimental front—one column, consisting of the whole of Lieutenant General Hardee's corps, attacking the two brigades of Generals Kirk and Willich, on the extreme right of the line. The troops attacked maintained their ground with obstinacy until overwhelmed and forced back. The rebels pressed this advantage until at last, by ten o'clock, the right wing had formed its line of battle nearly perpendicular with that of the centre. But the enemy once checked, his tide of success was stayed and turned into the reflux of defeat.

In the afternoon of the 30th of December General Stanley sent a citizen who resided near the Franklin turnpike, the point whereon the right of our line of battle was to rest, under guard to General McCook, to whom he reported as follows: "I was up to the enemy's line of battle twice yesterday and once this morning, to get some stock taken from me. The enemy's troops are posted in the following manner: the right of Cheatham's division rests on the Wilkinson turnpike; Wither's is on Cheatham's left, with his left resting on the Franklin road; *Hardee's corps is entirely beyond that road, and his left extending towards the Salem pike.*"<sup>9</sup>

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9. Consult map—"Battle-ground of Stone River."

This disposition of the rebel forces placed the right of General McCook's line directly in front of the rebel centre, and caused him to feel anxious for his right. General McCook therefore sent this citizen under guard to the general commanding, to impart the information received. It was given precisely the same as before.

General McCook expected a change would be made in the line of battle, to provide against this new development of the enemy's position, but no instruction changing the original plan was received; he therefore informed his division commanders of the position of affairs, and two brigades of his reserve division (the SECOND) were ordered to the right of the line, to protect the right flank and guard against surprise there.

It was urged that General McCook's line of battle was too extended—in single lines and in portions, without support. The latter statement is not proven, for the official reports of division, brigade and regimental commanders all declare their lines to have been in double formation, and the location of reserves was in as close supporting distance as usual in case of battle, unless the advance is hotly engaged. General McCook's line was one of necessity, not of choice. The surface of the country was very rough, rocky, and broken with timber, much of which was dense cedar thickets—very difficult ground upon which to post troops judiciously, and still more difficult to reform them in case of repulse. The line of battle

might have been more concentrated ; but if so, the rebel line would have been more on our flank, and the danger of a disastrous affair been proportionably increased.

General Rosecrans says further :

“ Without any map of the ground, which was to us *terra incognita*, when General McCook informed the general commanding that his corps was facing strongly toward the east, the general commanding told him that such a direction to his line did not appear to him a proper one, but that it ought, with the exception of his left, to face much more nearly south, with Johnson's division in reserve, but that this matter must be confided to him, who knew the ground over which he had fought.”

With the knowledge of the position of the enemy and of the topography of the country which General McCook possessed, he established what he considered the best possible line under the circumstances. A subsequent examination of this ground by other commanders, after the heat of battle had passed away, corroborated his judgment.

There is unhappily, however, a wide discrepancy between the official report of General Rosecrans and the statements of General McCook, contained in a letter written to the former, and bearing date the 10th of March, 1863. General McCook denies that the corps commanders had met at General Rosecrans' headquarters on the night of the 30th of December, 1862. He asserts he did not know that such a meeting had taken place until he read it in his (Rosecrans') report ; that he was not present, nor was he

summoned, either in written or verbal orders ; that no corps commanders heard any conversation between General Rosecrans and himself on the night of the 30th instant, as his official report implies ; that he did go to the headquarters of the general commanding, through a sense of duty, to report what he had done, the condition of things in front, information received, etc. ; that he proceeded to General Rosecrans' headquarters, accompanied by General D. S. Stanley, chief of cavalry, and Captain Williams, his (McCook's) Aide-de-camp ; that the persons he met there were General Rosecrans, — Thompson, his Aide-de-camp, and Father Tracy ; that General Stanley heard most of the conversation, and Captain Williams all that passed between General Rosecrans and himself, concerning the disposition of the lines at Stone river ; that General Rosecrans did ask him if he could hold his line ; that he replied, " I think I can,"—meaning, of course, if he was assailed by the enemy he had fought during the day—not the entire rebel army ; that the details of the plan of the battle were never explained to him, nor did he know what they were until he read them in his (Rosecrans') published report ; that he did receive an order from the lamented Garesche, which explained what he (McCook) had to do on the 31st of December, and which order is published in his (McCook's) report.

There are no means now at hand of ascertaining why these statements, so widely different, should have occurred. What special reason influenced Gen-

eral Rosecrans to publish these statements in his official report does not appear. As the matter stands it can scarcely be thought improper to place on record in this connection General McCook's emphatic denial of his knowledge of the meeting said to have taken place, and to state what was precisely the nature of the interview between Rosecrans and McCook on the night of the 30th of December ; and here it may be well to remark, that the reports of Generals Thomas and Crittenden, the other corps commanders, impliedly sustain McCook, for neither of them in their official reports allude to this meeting.<sup>10</sup> A better knowledge of the facts and reasons which controlled this mode of action might present the case in a different light.

This presentation is not made with the intention to injure the brilliant reputation of Rosecrans, nor in any manner to question his veracity. History is interspersed with instances where similar misunderstandings existed, and for equally unexplainable causes, and which resulted in bitter and life-long enmity—a calamity always to be regretted, especially among men in the military service, co-operating in a common cause, but which fortunately did not occur between these distinguished generals.

The people, however, in these times of civil strife, are liable to place a strong interpretation on written

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10. See official reports of Major General George H. Thomas, page 51, and Major General T. L. Crittenden, page 316—Report of the Secretary of War, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 3, Thirty-seventh Congress, *Special Session*.

language, especially where it relates to military operations and carries with it an indication of disaster, however slight or temporary; and with that proneness which appears a constitutional taint in American character, they denounce the person impliedly unfortunate, without the slightest preliminary investigation as to the facts involved or the causes which produced it. It is in view of this feeling, so apt to arise upon reading *ex-parte* evidence, that this matter is touched upon at all, and now only with the view that justice may be done a gallant soldier who on several battle-fields of the republic has given his counsel and imperiled his life that the nation might live. Whatever may be thought of the motives or the conduct of General Rosecrans in the part he acted, or whatever may be the light in which the public regard the actions of General McCook on that memorable field, it is evident that he retained the confidence of the commanding general, despite the misfortune which for a moment marred the success of our cause that day; and in this public acknowledgment of General McCook's services he displayed that element of strength which cannot fail to reflect credit upon his character—that trait which permitted no difference in opinion, whether on personal or public ground, to detract from a recognition and tender of thanks for eminent service rendered.

In closing his official report of the action, General Rosecrans characterized General McCook as a "tried, faithful and loyal soldier, who bravely breasted the



battle at Shiloh and at Perryville, and as bravely on the bloody field of Stone river." Again he said: "To *say* that he maintained his high character throughout this action but feebly expresses my feeling of obligation to him for counsel and support from the time of my arrival to the present hour."

Amidst all the seeming adversities which crowded upon him, and most of which were instigated by malice and heralded by unscrupulous partisans of the press, he still retained the confidence of his soldiers, who believed him honest and upright in purpose, thoroughly devoted to the cause of our country, and resolved to defend their brave hero, who with them had faced danger and death on the fields of carnage.

Upon the occupation of Murfreesboro and the settlement of the troops into the quietude of camp life, General McCook proceeded to his native Ohio, and on the 29th of January he was married to Miss Kate Phillips, the lovely and accomplished daughter of an esteemed citizen of Dayton, who shared his affections and was willing to share his fortunes, whatever they might be—the evolution of these anxious and troubled years of civil, internecine strife.

Upon the advance of the Army of the Cumberland, to again encounter the enemy and expel him from Middle Tennessee, General McCook was at the post of duty, and contributed much to the success of that glorious campaign—glorious because of the skill

displayed in the plan itself by the commanding general, and the prompt and cordial co-operation of corps commanders—glorious because of the brilliancy of the engagement, so short and so decisive, and the rout of the enemy from his boasted stronghold of Tullahoma, without a single exertion to maintain that important position—a rout which it is hoped has forever shut from him the occupation of the magnificent country of Middle Tennessee. On General McCook's front, and under his direction, was fought the battle of LIBERTY GAP—fought, too, by his old SECOND DIVISION—by far the most considerable affair in this splendidly devised campaign.

But the darkest feature in the history of General McCook remains to be told. In August, 1863, another movement was commenced against the enemy, whose forces were marshaled at Chattanooga, Tennessee. The army moved in three great columns, each having its mission to accomplish. Skirmishing with the enemy commenced soon after crossing the Tennessee river, and on the morning of the 19th of September the army was forced to concentrate south of Chattanooga, to give him battle. The battle soon raged in all its fury. The impetuous shocks of the contending hosts spread death all through the ranks. The attack was made upon General Thomas. There the enemy massed all his forces, with the resolution of breaking our centre and dividing our army. Reinforcements were called for, which were sent by General McCook on each requisition, until he had

not men enough left to hold the important position intrusted him. An unfortunate gap in the lines, caused by the withdrawal of another division, was perceived by the wily foe. Instantly the enemy took advantage of it, attacked our forces in flank and rear, and discomfited them. A portion of our troops, thus partially surrounded, beat a retreat, which in some instances amounted to confusion and rout. General McCook, learning the state of things, hastened back to establish a new line and rally the disorganized masses, and to confer with the commanding general. He was seen by some persons riding *towards* Chattanooga, and this was at once heralded to the country as an act of cowardice and misbehavior before the enemy. His maligners had now an opportunity to injure him materially and, as they thought, *forever*. The Northern press teemed with statements concerning his actions that day, using profusely the epithets "unsoldierly behavior," "misbehavior," "frightened hero," and others of this species of vilification; and, as ever, the public ear listened to it all, and for a moment, forgetful of the past, added its denunciations to the vile slanders of the newspaper press.

Thus was exhibited the disgraceful spectacle of a man educated in the military art, and who hastened at the first alarm of danger to aid in his country's defence—who had so frequently defended the honor of his country's flag by hurling his soldiers against the rebel tide, and baring his own bosom to their missiles of death, arraigned before that mighty trib-

unal of power, PUBLIC OPINION, as an incompetent general, a coward, and a disgrace to the land! and that, too, without first awaiting the formality of a trial before a competent and authorized tribunal, who, surrounded with all the forms of law, would upon an impartial hearing establish his innocence or guilt. Alas! that we have fallen upon such evil times! Formerly the accused party was held to be innocent until proved guilty; but now, in these days of trial and adversity, public opinion, as if maddened by the fate which overhangs it, reverses this sacred rule of law, and at once condemns its public servants as guilty, banishes them from its confidence, and then coolly awaits a judicial or military court to reverse its hasty and unwarranted judgment. In view of these things, who that loves right, and justice, and his fellow-men, but may well exclaim—

“Then what is man! And what man, seeing this,  
And having human feelings does not blush  
And hang his head, to think himself a man?”

It is to be regretted that the evidences of this sad occurrence are not to be obtained, that the whole history of the affair in its details might be presented to the country; but, unfortunately, neither the official reports of Generals Rosecrans, McCook, or other commanders are at hand, to establish proper data for the attempt. The day was fast approaching, however, when justice would be done, and public opinion, as well as would-be military critics, disarmed of their weapons and abashed at the wrong they had done.

On the 6th of October, 1863, General McCook was relieved by order of the War Department from the command of the Twentieth Army Corps, and directed to report at Indianapolis, Indiana, to await a board of inquiry.

On that day he issued the following farewell order to his command:

**OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS:**

An order will soon reach you, consolidating your gallant regiments, brigades and divisions with the Twenty-first Corps. With that order I am relieved from command in this army, and directed to report at Indianapolis, Indiana, there to appear before a court of inquiry.

After being relieved from command I could ask no greater favor of the War Department than a thorough investigation of my conduct during the two memorable days of Chickamauga, for I do not fear the issue. My great regret will be the breaking up of the glorious associations formed after so long service in the Army of the Cumberland, and the bidding farewell to the gallant officers and soldiers of this corps.

You will have new corps and division commanders. To them, as you have at all times to me, yield obedience. Give them additional evidence of your discipline, zeal and patriotism in our great cause, and never lay down your arms until this unholy rebellion is crushed, the Union permanently restored, and a peace secured that will allow you to return to your homes and firesides.

You have been slandered and maligned by news-scribblers, who, unfortunately, in our country mould the public mind. Official reports will do you justice before the world.

I return my thanks to every officer and soldier of the corps for his gallantry in action and his hearty co-operation and devotion to duty.

With this I leave you, and my earnest prayer ever shall be that God may prosper you as a corps and as individuals, and ever give you victory when struggling for your nation and glorious flag.

A. McD. McCook, Major General.

A court of inquiry was convened, which commenced its sessions at Nashville, Tennessee, on the 29th of January, "to investigate the conduct of Major General McCook, at the battle of Chickamauga, and in leaving the field." This was the most important military court ever convened in our country. Not only General McCook, but Major Generals Crittenden and Negley were summoned before it, and upon similar charges. Major General David Hunter was president of the board. After a very long and thorough examination the court reported the result of its investigations. In substance it was as follows: The evidence shows that on the 19th of September General McCook did his whole duty faithfully, with activity and intelligence; that on the 20th of September he had in his command the divisions of Generals Sheridan and Davis (the latter only from thirteen to fourteen hundred strong) and Wilder's brigade; that the senior officers of the cavalry were told that they must take orders from him, although attend to their own business; that the posting of these troops was unsatisfactory to General Rosecrans, who in person directed several changes between eight and half-past ten o'clock, A. M.; that during these changes, which involved a flank movement of the whole right to the left, the enemy made a fierce attack, taking advantage of a break in the line, caused by the inopportune withdrawal of the division of General T. J. Wood, passing through the interval and routing the whole right and centre up to General

Brannan's position ; *that it is apparent from the testimony that General McCook was not responsible for the delay in forming the new line on that occasion ;* that he had impressed upon him the vital importance of keeping well closed to the left and maintaining a compact centre, but he was also ordered to hold the Dry Valley road ; that this caused his line to be "attenuated," as stated in the testimony of General Rosecrans, who said that its length was greater than he thought it was when assumed, and that the cavalry did not obey his (General McCook's) orders ; that the small force at General McCook's disposal was inadequate to defend against greatly superior numbers the long line hastily taken under instructions ; and that these facts, clearly established, *relieve General McCook entirely from responsibility for the reverse which ensued ;* that he did everything he could to rally and hold his troops after the line was broken, giving the necessary orders, etc., to his subordinates.

With reference to General McCook's bearing on the battle-field, it says :

"The Court are of opinion, however, that in leaving the field to go to Chattanooga General McCook committed a mistake, but *his gallant conduct* in the engagements forbids the idea that he was influenced by considerations of personal safety.

"Bearing in mind that the commanding general had previously gone to Chattanooga, it was natural for General McCook to infer that all the discomfited troops were expected to rally there, as well as to presume that a conference with the commanding general on that important

subject was both desirable and necessary : the Court cannot regard this act of General McCook as any other than an error of judgment." <sup>11</sup>

Such was the decision of the court of inquiry convened by order of the War Department for the hearing of this case. The proceedings were submitted to the President, sustained by him, and the court dissolved. This record is a triumphant vindication of his military character, as displayed upon the field of Chickamauga.

General McCook had left the army with feelings of keen regret at parting with the brave men who had nobly fought on so many bloody battle-fields and crowned themselves with the victor's wreath ; and especially did he lament that separation which was to sever, perhaps forever, the connection which had so long existed between himself and the SECOND DIVISION. He entertained no fears for a court of inquiry ; but, on the other hand, he invited the most thorough investigation into his military record. He yielded like a true soldier to the order which relieved him from command, confident that the gates of justice would yet be unbarred to him, and his acts and intentions stand vindicated to the world. In this he evinced those two sterling virtues—prudence and submission. He has at last emerged from the clouds that so long overcast his name, and now, like refined

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11. See "Army and Navy Official Gazette," April 12, 1864, page 642.



gold, his character as a man, a soldier, and a military commander, stands forth in greater purity and brilliancy than ever before. He is not yet assigned to duty but is ready and willing to enter the field when it suits the sovereign pleasure of the War Department to demand his services. He is not an ambitious man, in the general acceptance of that term. It would be foolish to assert that he does not care for his good name, or wish to render himself worthy of having lived; but to do well and faithfully his whole duty as a citizen and a soldier of the republic, and to wear such honors as the performance of duty naturally gains at the hands of the American people, when controlled, not by passionate but dispassionate opinion, is the acme of his ambition. He never aspired to command an army, or any considerable number of men. His old division was his pride,—with them he wished to remain; but, in obedience to higher authority, he assumed command of an army corps under General Buell. From that day his misfortunes commenced. In every engagement that has since followed, any defect in the carrying out of a plan of battle, and which in consequence resulted in discomfiture, has been to a greater or less extent thrown upon him. But he has nobly borne the burdens he was compelled to sustain, and confronts with steady eye every attempt to assail and crush him. Thus far his watchful oversight has more than matched the inconsideration, the errors, or the designs, whether of friends or of foes.

His kindly presence and manly voice, his cheering words and gallant bearing, his eminent services and generous zeal in the cause of our country, will not soon be forgotten by the noble men whom he first organized and led to victory. No,—with them, if with no one else, his reputation is safe; and whatever fate may hereafter betide him, whether of weal or woe, he will carry with him the kindly sympathy—nay, the LOVE of his old comrades of the SECOND DIVISION.

## CHAPTER X.

THE MARCH FROM CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI, TO BATTLE CREEK, TENNESSEE—INAUGURATION OF THE GREAT REBEL INVASION—BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR GENERAL LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU.


IN accordance with the contemplated Federal campaign, noticed in the preceding chapter, the Army of the Ohio, on the 10th of June, 1862, began its march for East Tennessee. No enemy appeared to dispute its advance. The column moved steadily forward—more like peaceful travelers or an expedition for discovery, than soldiers flushed with the delirium of victory and thirsting for the appropriation of spoils which fell into their hands by so easy a warfare. It received its supplies principally at the chief points of communication with the north—at Florence, and Athens, and Huntsville, Alabama. The soldiers, as a body, were gentlemanly, and treated the haughty Southerners with consideration, paying liberally for all they consumed. The march was made beneath an almost tropical sun, and over roads deep with

dust; but it must be endured, that the end may be attained. The country passed through varied in character. In Northern and Eastern Mississippi it was an alternation of dry arid, uplands, and long, low swamps. It was thinly peopled, destitute of trade, presenting the appearance of slavish poverty and wide-spread desolation. The town of Iuka was the only redeeming feature in the dreary landscape. Embosomed in a circle of hills, and possessing springs of a valuable nature, it became a place of some wealth and quite a fashionable resort. It was afterwards, on the 19th of September in that year, the scene of a well-contested battle.

In Alabama the country was generally a rolling upland, the soil was very rich and the crops of grain abundant. Tuscumbia, Florence, Athens and Huntsville were beautiful towns, the central points of intelligence and the residuum of that wealth wrung from the toil of the bondmen, and never more conspicuously seen than here and there in the "sunny land." The north-eastern section is mountainous, the Raccoon and other chains—spurs of the Cumberland—extending well into the centre of the State. The soil is fertile and well cultivated in the vicinity of the small towns and villages; elsewhere it is sandy and unfruitful. As a State Northern Alabama has the elements of power. Beautiful rivers irrigate its soil. The waters of the Big Bear, the Tuscumbia, the Tennessee and the Elk bear evidence that under the benign operations of industry, agriculture, com-

merce and manufactures might flourish and engender the stimulus to action and strength so powerfully felt at the North.

But its lands are tilled either by slaves, who are forced to labor, or by the poor whites—a class who, by reason of their associations and the social law which discards and crushes them, are but little removed from the condition of servitude. This law of slavery, which subjects the blacks to involuntary labor without the stimulus of adequate compensation, and the other social law—equally arbitrary and tyrannical, because it degrades the honest toil of the white man to the same level as that of the black race, and excludes him from the social status which in a free community he would enjoy—are the causes which prevent the rapid development of the arts and sciences, and their practical application to the natural resources of the State. Where the toil of the laborer is despised industry never thrives. Where the wealth of the land is accredited to the few, and they absorb the fruits of labor, it creates an aristocracy in caste and a monopoly in interest dangerous in itself and destructive to the growth of the State. Thus in the South the poor white man becomes an object of pity, almost of contempt. He is looked upon by the fortunate few as a slave in reality, although not in name. He therefore despises the fate which compels him to labor, and the false pride engendered by the cruel taunt forbids him to acquire even the comforts or necessities of life. Such is the reason for the



indolence, raggedness and poverty of this unfortunate class; and it is the nature of slavery to keep him in this condition. The perpetuation of slavery depends upon the rigid enforcement of this law. Let labor be elevated to the position of an honorable profession, and the laborers would rise in a corresponding scale. Education would then lend her helping hand and the book of knowledge would display to them treasures which they never dreamed of before—treasures more valuable far than the riches of Ormus or Ind: industry and its ennobling conditions—the foundation of freedom, of a more equal distribution of wealth, of that emulative and progressive spirit which pervades the land, builds cities and towns, fills them with the teeming products of the field, the factory and the shop, erects commonwealths, and by its inherent strength of resource, power and mind, challenges the admiration of mankind.

The march, though long and tedious, was not altogether devoid of interest. The landscape was ever changing to a greater or less degree, the natural resources of the Southern country were constantly seen, its people and their peculiar institution encountered, and their character realized and discussed in a more extensive and practical light, perhaps, than ever before; and no one thing witnessed produced a more lasting or deeper impression upon the minds of our intelligent soldiery than the similarity of condition between the poor whites and the slaves—a condition fearful in its extent, demoralizing and debasing in its

effects, and tending slowly but surely to the enslavement of the former under the bonds of the latter.

Another evil, greater in magnitude and far more atrocious in the turpitude of crime, is that violation of morals whereby concubinage is substituted for marriage, and the incestuous intercourse of the master with the slave shows itself in the rapid amalgamation of the two races. All through the Southern States, but no where so apparently as in Northern Alabama, the octoroons, quadroons and mulattoes seem to constitute the greater portion of its slave population. Such a spectacle is indeed shocking to morality. Nor is the master unaffected by it: his character and manners partake of the stolidity, the insensibility, and the mental debasement of the untutored slave; and, as if in divine retaliation for this hideous iniquity, his family not unfrequently indulge in the same licentious alliance.

All history points with warning finger to the direful effects of this great social sin. It leads unerringly to degradation, to domestic wars, to insurrections and denationalization. It places a land low in the scale of civilization, despite its boasted freedom and intelligence, and holds it up as a by-word of shame among the nations. It applies to it the fitting language of the poet Dante, when he characterized his own beautiful but degraded Italy a house of ill-fame.<sup>1</sup> This condition, unfortunate and debasing as it is, is the

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1. *Purgat.—Canto vi.*



essential and natural concomitant of slavery, and will continue to exist as long as Heaven sustains the difference between those great principles of right and wrong—liberty and slavery.

The Northern blood of our soldiers boiled with indignation when they witnessed this condition for themselves, and found that the utterances of Northern men, whom the mass of the people styled Abolitionists, had, in depicting this dreary catalogue of social evils, given only the truth concerning an enormity so hideous and disgraceful to the character of the American Republic.

These teachings, heretofore disregarded by the great mass of the people, or at best viewed as an evil to be deprecated in its nature, but over which they had no control, now attested by the undeniable evidence of sight, could but produce a deep and unconcealed hostility in the breasts of true American citizens against the continuance and perpetuation of a system so full of manifold injuries and injustice.

It was at this time that the seeds of a great reformation were sown broadcast among our people, and which soon ripened into the Emancipation Proclamation—the first great step towards national freedom and progress; and the future historian of our country, as he discusses the great and momentous events of these times, and traces slavery as the “origin and mainspring of the rebellion,” will accord to the army that rallied to the defence of the republic the honor of intensifying the public sentiment of the land to



that point when the institution of slavery was felt to be the "bone of contention" between the North and the South—the sword which would sever the Gordian knot of friendship and true interest, and that its life, with all its hydra of evils, must be sacrificed, that the national unity, with its multitude of blessings, might live. No hero could desire a more glorious passport to fame—no grander, nobler philanthropy could result from the vicissitudes of war. Thus would those who have taken up the sword for the perpetuation of a giant wrong "perish by the sword," and the crime they sought to protect rush headlong, hissing like a demon, into the charnel house of iniquity.

Having witnessed the effects of this great moral, social and political evil, our soldiers—no hired Janizaries, but intelligent and upright citizens of the land—resolved to pronounce its doom! They had enlisted heart and soul in the cause of the republic, with the fixed determination of establishing it upon an enduring basis—a basis which should withstand, like the pyramids of Egypt, the elements of strife for thousands of years. Guided thus, knowing well their responsibilities, and foreseeing the future, they exclaimed :

" There's a fount about to stream,  
There's a light about to beam,  
There's a warmth about to glow,  
There's a midnight blackness changing  
    Into gray :  
Men of thought and men of action,  
    *Clear the way !*"



The division arrived at Camp Indian Creek on the 28th of June. It remained beside this small but beautiful stream until the morning of the 5th of July. Here the "Fourth of July" was celebrated in camp as suited the inclination of each individual. The day was excessively hot;—the sun seemed to have redoubled the intensity of heat, and the air was breathless—not unlike a calm within the tropics. It was a day of quiet—not even a national salute at sunrise, high meridian or sunset—not an oration nor the reading of the "Declaration of Independence." The soldiers could easily forego the two latter, but they expected the former. Why a salute was not fired is unknown; probably there was a good reason. The "Stars and Stripes" were raised, however, in front of division, brigade and regimental headquarters; in every company street martial bands played the several national anthems, while the men cheered vigorously for the success of the "old flag!" The instrumental bands, too, discoursed at intervals stirring tunes, which quickened the blood and enlarged the patriotism of every true American. One could but feel that day that we as a people were contemporaries and co-actors, as it were, with our fathers of the Revolution. The crisis with them, in 1776, was the establishment of constitutional liberty; the crisis with their descendants, in 1861, is the perpetuity of that noble principle. The future will determine whether our faith and our heroism will complete the historic parallel of their lofty and successful struggle.

HUNTSVILLE, the most important town the division passed through on this march, is a beautiful place of some five thousand inhabitants. It is regularly laid out, and well shaded with the different varieties of forest trees common to the South ; and here, too, is the magnolia, with its magnificent foliage and fragrant flowers. It has several fine public buildings, the best of which is the Court House. Among its hotels, one, the "Huntsville House," is alone worthy the name. The people here are wealthy and intelligent, and, as previously stated, one of the centres of refinement and vice. As the stranger emerges from the hills westward of the town, and first beholds the valley in which it lies, he is delighted with the picturesque loveliness of the scene. A resident of the East is strongly reminded of many of the lovely valleys among the mountains of the "Granite State," or the less lofty hills of Connecticut or the "old Bay State." Away in the distance blue hills rise on blue hills, their loftier peaks seemingly piercing the not-bluer ether—their sides abounding with springs of translucent water, which gushes profusely forth in little streams that meander through the valley—the valley deep and broad, lovely in its robe of dark rich green or belts of forest trees. Such is the magical charm of the varied landscape. Near to the hotel, and at the base of a cliff of rocks, is a large spring, the water of which is transparent as crystal and excellent to the taste, and from which the town is supplied by means of pipes and hydraulic power.

Here was the scene of General Mitchell's daring entry and the centre of his operations. Here was established General Buell's headquarters; and here, too, General Rousseau was called to the command of General Mitchell's famous division, that gallant officer being ordered to Washington, preparatory to his assignment to the "Department of the South," where he died. It was with regret that the SECOND DIVISION learned of the departure of General Rousseau. His noble and majestic form, his gentle and dignified manner, his rich and mellifluous voice, his strict attention to duty, his patriotic earnestness for the success of the cause, his commanding presence and reckless daring on the battle-field, and his genial and kind disposition had endeared him to the hearts of all. His loss was indeed deeply felt; but thousands of honest and earnest men wished him God speed, safety, and new laurels of fame.

On the 3d of July General Johnson assumed the command of the division, during the absence of General McCook; and Colonel Moses R. Dickey, of the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry, was placed in command of the sixth brigade. Colonel Harvey M. Buckley, of the "Louisville Legion," also succeeded General Rousseau in command of the fourth brigade. Captain P. P. Baldwin was also promoted to the command of the Sixth Indiana, Colonel T. T. Crittenden having been appointed a brigadier general.<sup>2</sup>

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2. General Thomas T. Crittenden, the subject of the following sketch, was born at Huntsville, Alabama, on the 16th of October, 1825. His

Meantime the division marched to Crow Creek, within two and a half miles of Stevenson, Alabama, arriving on the 10th of July. Here it remained in camp until the 19th instant, when it moved eastward twelve miles, to Battle Creek, Tennessee. On the

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father, Thomas T. Crittenden, was a brother of the Honorable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, a lawyer by profession, and a man of much energy and decision of character.

The early youth of General Crittenden was passed in Kentucky, and he received his education in Transylvania University, at Lexington, in that State. He early directed his attention to the study of law, and was licensed to practice in the year 1844. He then established himself at Hannibal, Missouri, and for two years devoted all his time and ability to his profession. Here he soon gave the first indications of that patriotism and taste for martial pursuits which has marked his subsequent career. In 1846, when war was declared between the United States and Mexico, young Crittenden, deeply imbued with the spirit of the times, threw aside his law books, left a lucrative and rapidly increasing practice, and enlisted as a private in Lieutenant Colonel Wellock's battalion of the Second Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, then commanded by Colonel Sterling Price. He remained in the service until near the close of the war, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and his superior officers afterwards testified their appreciation of his ability by selecting him to write a history of the campaign.

In March, 1848, he removed to Madison, Indiana, where he entered with renewed energy on the duties of his profession, and soon acquired an extensive practice. On the 7th of June, 1852, he married Miss Lizzie L. Baldwin, of Clarke county, Indiana, a sister of Colonel P. P. Baldwin, and from that period until the cannons of Sumter awoke the slumbering echoes of the past, and touched anew the patriotism in his heart, he remained in the quiet enjoyment of civil life.

On the 19th of April, only four days after the President's call, Captain Crittenden departed with his company for Indianapolis, and on the 26th was elected and commissioned colonel of the Sixth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers. His regiment was immediately ordered to Western Virginia. It arrived at Webster on the 1st of June, just in time to participate in the engagement at Phillippi. Subsequently it took part in the affairs of Laurel Hill and Carrick's Ford. At the expiration of the three months' service his regiment was disbanded, but he immediately reorganized it; and on the 20th of September, 1861, he hastily proceeded with six hundred men, all whom he could furnish with arms, to aid General Rousseau in the defence of Kentucky, the home of his youth. His regiment was one of the first to march to the relief of Virginia, and now was the first from a loyal State to the defence of Kentucky.

On the 28th of April Colonel Crittenden was appointed brigadier general. About this time he was prostrated by typhoid fever, and was unfit for duty throughout the months of May and June. Upon his recovery he was ordered to assume command at Murfreesboro. This was on the 12th of July, and on the following day he and his command were cap-

16th instant General McCook again resumed command of the division; but on the 19th of the month, by virtue of his commission as major general, he assumed command of all the forces in the vicinity, and General Johnson was recalled to the command of the division. Colonel Dickey also resumed command of the sixth brigade.

Stevenson, which is the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and the Nashville and Chattanooga railroads, is located at the base of a high wooded knob, and is an insignificant and miserable town. There is no evidence of wealth or refinement; and when our forces occupied it, the residents, but few in

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tured by General Forrest. For three months he was closely confined as a prisoner, and the treatment of our men in rebel hands did not impress his mind with an exalted idea of Southern chivalry.

On his return to the army he demanded a court of inquiry, which was granted. The facts connected with the surrender of Murfreesboro were fully investigated, and he was exonerated from all blame in that unfortunate affair. It declared that he did all that should be expected of a vigilant commander, from the time he took command until the surrender, and it found no evidence which could impugn his skill or courage. General Rosecrans, in his review of the evidence, sustains the opinion of the court, and says the surrender would not have occurred had the timely advice of General Crittenden been heeded.

Soon after this General Crittenden was assigned the command of the third brigade, first division, Twentieth Army Corps, and held that position until the 28th of April, 1863, when he resigned in consequence of continued ill health. His resignation was accepted on the 5th of May, 1863, and immediately he returned to his family, at Madison, Indiana.

In personal appearance General Crittenden is rather prepossessing. He is about the average height, stoutly built, and inclined to corpulency. He has dark brown hair and eyes, a florid complexion, and a frank, open expression of countenance. He is temperate in his habits, gentlemanly in his deportment, and possesses good conversational powers. His uniform cheerfulness and social qualities render him a most genial companion.

His faith in the cause for which our armies are yet struggling remains unshaken, and he believes the day not far distant when unity, peace and prosperity will crown our efforts—when the United States, without a slave within her borders, will more than ever be the beacon of freedom to all nations.

number, were of the most ignorant and degraded class. While here, on the 14th of July, an order was issued, placing the command on half rations, for both men and animals, caused by the capture of Murfreesboro by a strong rebel force on the 13th instant, and the destruction of a portion of the railroad. The troops remained on half rations during their stay in the Tennessee valley, but they never fared better. It was midsummer, and nature was most prolific in her dainties. Apples, peaches, plums and berries were in abundance, while the country was foraged for miles around, and compelled to furnish supplies of beef and grain. The pasturage was in good condition, and with the corn and oats occasionally received, the animals eked out a good subsistence.

The rebels did not attempt to hold Murfreesboro, or any other point upon the road; but they made frequent raids, suspended communication, and taxed to the utmost the energies of the mechanics and engineers, and of the commissary and quartermaster departments in supplying the half of the necessities of the troops.

Imagine a lovely valley, bounded laterally with ranges of hills, the loftiest of whose summits rise frowningly before you, like the stern outposts of an invincible army, and through the centre of which the noble Tennessee in rapid current rushes on to mingle its waters with the mightier rivers which pay tribute to the "deep blue sea," and you have the Federal encampment at Battle Creek. There for a time the

division lay, amidst scenery most beautiful and picturesque—scenery which, for its ever-changing variety and almost boundless extent, is very seldom equalled amongst the highlands of the South and West, and which the pencil of a Titian or a Guido would leap to tint in the purest colors known to the painter's art.

The health of the command while here was excellent—much better than the surgeons anticipated, as the extremes of heat and cold (the excessive heat of the day and the chilling coolness of the night) tended to create fevers—a calamity which in that climate and at that season was to be shunned if possible, and which, once raging, could but prove seriously fatal. Happily, our troops were almost entirely exempted from it.

On the 10th of August Colonel August Willich assumed command of the sixth brigade, by virtue of his appointment as brigadier general of volunteers, when Colonel Moses R. Dickey returned to his regiment. On the same day Brigadier General Sill, formerly colonel of the Thirty-third Ohio Infantry, by virtue of "Special Order No. 129, Army of the Ohio," relieved Colonel H. M. Buckley in command of the fourth brigade. About the 15th of August General Johnson, commanding the division, was temporarily detached by order of General Buell to the command of cavalry, and organized an expedition for the pursuit of the rebel General John Morgan. No other officer was appointed to the command of



the division while it lay at Battle Creek; it was nominally under the immediate control of General McCook. While here a line of intrenchments and fort were constructed for the better defence of the position. The latter was called Fort McCook.

Shortly after the retreat of the rebel army from Corinth to Tupelo, Mississippi, General Beauregard retired from command, on account of ill health, and General Braxton Bragg was his successor. Simultaneously with the march of our army eastward General Bragg proceeded with the greater portion of his army to the occupation of Chattanooga and defensive line along the south bank of the Tennessee. When our forces arrived at Stevenson, Battle Creek and Bridgeport, the enemy confronted them. Meantime General Bragg prepared to act on the offensive and before any active operations upon our part had been resumed, he entered upon the execution of his campaign.

The position of the Federal forces, referred to in the preceding chapter, compelled the South either to virtually abandon the contest in the South and West or make an aggressive movement whereby the Union army should be forced to abandon Alabama, Eastern and Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, and thereby secure to them these great grain-growing and stock raising States. Bragg decided upon Kentucky as the field of his operations. He sent the forces of General E. Kirby Smith, by way of East Tennessee to threaten Cincinnati, and thus divert the attention





of our commanders from the real object of attack, compelling them to divide their forces, while he with another column moved direct upon Louisville, with the intention of capturing that city, holding its communication, and driving the Union forces north of the Ohio. This bold campaign was inaugurated early in the month of August, 1862; and as soon as the intention of the rebel commander became known, General Buell prepared to resist his movements. And here for the present we will leave the two armies, resting in the valley of the Tennessee.

AMONG those distinguished thus far in the history of the Great Rebellion, none began their career under more inauspicious circumstances, or have attained to more honorable and enduring fame, than LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU. A poor but honest lad, inspired with noble impulses, he encountered and surmounted the adversities of life with indomitable courage, and in early manhood furnished proof of the glorious character of American institutions, which recognize *the man* in talent, ability and intellect, not in wealth or station.

In this simple narrative the author only aims to show what loftiness of soul, generosity of purpose, hopeful confidence and self-sacrifice characterized Rousseau's earlier life; how, when civil war raised its hideous front, the peaceful aims of life were frustrated, all professional aspirations checked; and how, when he became a soldier, he buckled on the sword

in vindication of the cause his eloquent tongue had so boldly proclaimed, abandoned political and social friendships, and stood forth the true friend of liberty and constitutional government, and by his abilities, ardor and chivalric spirit, displayed in administration and on the most sanguinary battle-fields of the republic, gained at once the confidence and cheered the hopes of the entire people.

LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU was born on the 4th day of August, 1818, near Stanford, Lincoln county, Kentucky. He was the son of David Rousseau, a native of Virginia, who was descended from a Huguenot family—one of three brothers who fled from France and settled in South Carolina upon the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. His mother, Catharine Gaines, was also a native of Virginia, daughter of Richard Gaines and cousin of the late General Edmund P. Gaines.

David, Lovell's father, having failed as a merchant in Virginia, and thus sacrificed his property, removed with his family to Kentucky. He was poor, possessing only a few slaves, the property of the mother.


In the year 1833, when the cholera raged so fearfully in Eastern Kentucky, the father, dreading the contagion, determined to remove to another section of the State, Wayne county, where his brother John Rousseau resided. While on the way with his wife and children he was seized with the epidemic, and died within a few hours. This was a terrible bereavement, and much aggravated by the circum-

stances attending it. They were alone and among strangers. There were none to whom the distressed mother and children could turn for sympathy or assistance, and the disease itself at that time excited such fears wherever its presence was known, that the anxiety for self-protection overweighed all considerations of common humanity. No person in the neighborhood could be induced to render aid to the afflicted family—even to dig a grave by the wayside. Death is fearful at the best, come in what form it may—fearful when in his own quiet chamber the departing one is surrounded by affection and friendship, and gradually passes away, soothed by the unceasing assiduities of loving ones, who, though prayer and care are all in vain, still linger near until the ear fails to catch the sound of the most endearing utterances, the eye closes in its last slumber, and the silent pulse tells too surely that the spirit which pervaded the earthly tabernacle has departed forever. But how much more fearful is it when to one almost alone, far away from the quietude of a happy home, journeying among strangers, the grim monster appears in such a form that the world around stands aghast, shrouds its sympathy in fear, and leaves the unfortunate sufferer to breath his last, unattended by even medical care and unsupported by those attentions which smooth, though they fail to check, the descent to the tomb!

Thus died David Rousseau. His family his only attendants, forsaken by all else, discarded by earth,

seemingly forgotten of Heaven ; and none even could be found to perform the last sad office—the sepulture of his remains ! Lovell, then a mere boy, aided by two yet younger brothers, toiled through the day digging the grave, and buried him at night. How affecting the scene !—how solemn and impressive !—No funeral service was there—no last visitation from friends and neighbors—no tolling of the village bell—no procession—no hearse—nay, hardly a coffin ! There was the deeply bereaved family—the widowed mother, the orphaned children, their heart-sorrows, their anguish and tears, the lonely burial, and all was over ! Sadly they resumed their weary way, until at last they reached the home of their kindred.

It would be unnatural to suppose that such a scene could be enacted without leaving a deep and life-long impression upon the minds of all who witnessed it, and whose ages were such as to render them capable of realizing its terribleness. Sometimes a very simple occurrence will change a man's destiny. Even a kindly word, a scoff, a jeer, ridicule or contempt, has aroused a mind before dormant, and fired it with the noblest resolves. Parental bereavement, a sense of destitution or dependence, have imparted to youth those impulses which point the way to brilliant success, and been the harbingers of renown and widespread influence. Thus it has been and ever will be. So was it with young Rousseau. When his father died he was the eldest son at home, and the support of the family chiefly devolved on him. Hard labor



had been his only patrimony ; the inestimable blessing of an education he had never experienced, for schools were unknown to him. Under such circumstances the vista of the future, as it lay wide-spread before him, could disclose no very promising views of coming education, competence and fame. His mother was without the means to educate him, and it taxed all her energies to care for the younger children. There were then no free schools where the priceless boon of knowledge was dispensed without expense ; but he was filled with an earnest desire to acquire at least a good common school education, hoping by this means the better to assist in the support and education of his brothers and sisters.

He was ardent and ambitious, of exceedingly quick parts, and pursued with unabating avidity whatsoever he took in hand. Gathering what books he could among his neighbors, added to the few possessed by his family, he applied himself with unceasing attention to the acquirement of that which he so sensibly felt he lacked, and his subsequent career has proved how sound and how practical was his patient self-teaching.

During the day he swung the woodman's axe, and at night, when others, exhausted by the severe labor of the day, sought their couch for rest and strength for the morrow's toil, he, with book in hand, sat by the log-fire, its blaze his only lamp, and slowly but surely mastered not only the common but the higher branches of English classics. All this was attained



in two years of persevering application, snatched in the intervals of constant daily toil.

He then went to the wilds of Michigan. Here he pursued the same habits of study and reflection—these alone compensating him for the severest hardships and sufferings. He returned to Louisville, Kentucky, where his mother with his next elder brother and his sisters at that time resided, in March, 1840—a young man of twenty-two, with a fine physical development, and a mind healthy, active, and in a high state of culture. His reading had been extensive and unconfined in its range. By study he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the English language, and acquired fluency both in speaking and writing the French tongue. He was emphatically the artificer of his own fortune. Indeed,

“How little do we know that which we are;  
How less what we may be!”

Rousseau's ambition was now aroused. There is something outside of the mere formal process of an education which operates much in the formation of character; and although this influence is unseen, and possibly unfelt, it is none the less powerful, and often becomes the hinging point of future destiny. This influence is the result of biographical reading and personal observation and knowledge of men who by dint of patient and honest labor, by self-denial and sacrifice, have raised themselves from humble stations in life to spheres of usefulness and honor. A thrill of pleasure and awakening activity will rush with

irresistible might through the brain of every American youth not dead to nobility of character, as he reads the lives of many of our revolutionary heroes, both in civil and military service, and there sees how, step by step, as the reward of energy and constancy of purpose directed to the attainment of a noble end, they have ascended from obscurity to positions of power and place. Again, there was the living presence and the triumphant greatness of the grand American triumvirate—Webster, Clay and Calhoun, of Benton, Cass, Wright, Crittenden, and others, all of whom furnish the noblest evidence of the benignity and excellence of republican institutions in fostering and honoring true intellectual and moral worth.

These examples are worthy a young man's study. No truer prototypes can be found in our history, and the humbleness of their early lives affords easy imitation and encouragement.

Rousseau now resolved upon the profession of law. His means were quite limited ; and to reduce his expenses as much as possible, as well as to guard against the temptations of city life, he resided eight miles from Louisville. There, by his unremitting devotion to study, his health became seriously impaired, and resulted in a severe sickness, from which he did not recover until late in the fall. Upon his restoration to health he proceeded to Indiana, in quest of a new place in which to prosecute to completion his studies, and eventually to locate as an attorney. He selected the town of Bloomfield. He

entered it a perfect stranger to all its citizens;—no friend, not even an acquaintance, accompanied him; his purse contained only five dollars and a half, but he was not for a moment disheartened. On the contrary, he gloried in surmounting the obstacles which seemed to beset his path. His heart was in the enterprise, and he knew no such word as *fail*. Sometimes fortune seemed to frown upon him, but his cheerful spirit saw only the bright side of the picture. He permitted no opportunity of labor, whatever it might be, to pass unaccepted, whereby he could replenish his purse. Such conduct could not fail to be noticed by the citizens of the place, and he soon acquired an enviable reputation as a diligent student, and an honest, industrious young man, well worthy support and confidence.

In February, 1841, he was examined by Judge McDonald, of Daviess county, and received from him a license to practice law. Unlike many lawyers of our day, he did not cease to study upon admission to the bar. Not trusting to genius alone, he applied his mind assiduously to the most incessant study, familiarizing himself with the text books, carefully examining precedents and authorities, and in many cases seeking his knowledge from the original sources, the fountain head of English law. He at once obtained practice, and by the distinguished ability with which he managed his cause, gave entire satisfaction to his clients, while his honesty of purpose and unyielding integrity gained him a valuable reputation among

the people. Rapidly he advanced to the first rank of his profession in the State, and possessed a handsome income.

In 1843 he married Miss Antoinette Dozier, the daughter of James Dozier, the law-partner of the late Felix Grundy, of Tennessee.

He had now triumphed over all the adversities of early life. Fickle fortune had not dandled and suddenly raised him to affluence and eminence. It had been the work of years of patient, unceasing toil—of hopeful confidence and abiding faith.

Rousseau early espoused the doctrines and policy of the Whig party. He had been a willing student in the school of Webster and Clay, and sincerely and honestly believed the best interests of the country were to be subserved by the triumph of that party; he therefore lent all the energies of his mind in its support.


In 1843, the year of his marriage, he was nominated as the Whig candidate for the Legislature from his district. It was not thought he would be elected, as the Democratic party was in the majority, and his Democratic competitor was an old resident, and a man of much wealth and influence. He at once entered upon the canvass, and his personal popularity was such that all, of whatever shade of politics, came to hear him; and he managed the campaign with such skill, and enforced his arguments with such eloquence, that he overcame the majority of the opposition against him, to the surprise of himself and

the infinite joy of his political friends. The next year he was renominated, and encountered a still more formidable opponent, yet was re-elected by a largely increased majority. He seemed now well upon the ladder of political success. He had displayed commanding ability, proving himself not a mere party tool, but an earnest advocate of every measure that could effect the well-being of his entire constituency. But events were rapidly transpiring which for a time at least would divert his energies into a new and untried sphere of action.

When, in 1846, President Polk issued his call for volunteers in the war against Mexico, Rousseau raised and organized a company, of which he became the commander, and with which he faithfully served the country during the war. In his new profession of a soldier he proved himself a skillful captain, popular with his men, generous, resolute and brave.

At the battle of Buena Vista he was distinguished for his gallantry and daring in action, and his conduct was highly complimented in the official reports of Colonel (now rebel General) Humphrey Marshall and other superior officers.

So great was his popularity at home that, while still in Mexico, he was nominated as the Whig candidate for the State Senate in the Green and Owen district, against a well-known and popular Democrat, who had rendered much public service, and who in many successive campaigns had always been successful. Rousseau was elected by a large majority—



fitting evidence of the appreciation in which his public services were held by the citizens of his district.

Rousseau, however, was dissatisfied with his location at Bloomfield. His strong intellect, commanding eloquence and enlarged benevolence demanded a larger field of action. He dearly loved his profession, and desired to devote his entire attention to it. Politics always more or less trammels the mind and encroaches upon valuable time; he therefore, after serving one session in the Senate, tendered his resignation as senator; but his constituents would not hearken to the proposition, so he yielded to their earnest solicitations and served the remainder of his term. Meantime he removed to Louisville, and opened an office for the practice of his profession.

However great may be one's abilities, and however much he may possess those sterling qualities which insure success, he still approaches a new arena of warfare with mingled feelings of diffidence and doubt, and this feeling of distrust is proportionately increased as the opposing talent is varied and exalted.

The Louisville bar was in its palmiest days when Rousseau ventured to contend for a portion of its patronage. Henry Pirtle (now Chancellor), Peter B. Muir (now Judge), James Guthrie, Bland Ballard (now United States District Judge), Preston S. Loughborough, Garrett Duncan, James Speed, William S. Pilcher, and others of like standing, made up the army of champions with whom he must measure the

forensic sword to obtain position and a lucrative practice. He was not lacking in capacity;—well read in law, familiar with its fundamental and underlying principles, thoroughly practical in the application of them to his causes, genial in nature, courteous in intercourse, fluent in speech, he rapidly attained eminence, and soon stood a peer among his associates in the forum.

During his absence from home, in the spring of 1861, he was nominated by the Whigs and Americans of Louisville as a candidate for the Kentucky Senate, and soon afterwards by the Democrats also. On his return he declined the honor, and in fact had never consented, but was elected by the unanimous vote of all parties. This was a compliment rarely accorded a public man, even in the younger days of the nation, much less in these days of party antagonism and strife.

Meantime the political heavens, heretofore clear, or only momentarily darkened in the conflict of adverse opinions, became obscured with the lowering clouds of sectional discontent. The country was charged and surcharged with the fiery elements of coming disorganization, ruin and death; the South was in a blaze with the secession heresy; rebel emissaries were sent to the Southern border States, to consult with State authorities, and to devise means for their defence and ultimate annexation to the proposed slave oligarchy. Alabama, one of the wayward sisters, had sent a gentleman who styled

himself "Commissioner from the Sovereign State of Alabama," to confer especially with the authorities and Legislature of Kentucky upon the issues of the day and the policy necessary to adopt in consequence of the momentous events transpiring, and others soon to occur, which would drench the land in blood—"unhappily, but necessarily," said he, "in vindication of the dearest liberties of our Southern people!" Governor Magoffin, influenced by the counsel of Breckenridge, Buckner, Marshall, Tilghman, and other traitors, by proclamation convened the Legislature before the usual time, purposely to hear an address from and advise with the distinguished "commissioner" whom Alabama, in her sisterly love, had expressly delegated to forewarn Kentucky of the coming storm and invite her people to a Union with her Southern sisters, whose cause, bolstered with cotton bales, would speedily compel the recognition of a new government, and with it would come, *de jure* as well as *de facto*, the denationalization of the American Republic.

Affairs being thus critical, Rousseau felt compelled to take his seat in the Senate. He saw that a fearful crisis in Kentucky's history was at hand, and he resolved that as far as possible he would avert the terrible fate which many Kentuckians, in their passionate folly, were preparing for her. He had been elected to the Legislature as the unanimous choice of a large and intelligent constituency, and he considered it his privilege, from his place in the Senate, to warn



the members of that body, the lower house and the people, that the adoption of the Governor's doctrine of "co-operation," or the more delusive idea of an "armed neutrality," would bring incalculable evil, disgrace and shedding of blood upon her soil. His course was bold and outspoken;—his policy was a straightforward support of the National Government in all its measures for suppressing the rebellion, discarding all movements that countenanced secession, and that her citizens, by voice and vote, by musketry roar and cannon flash, vindicate the national unity and the sacredness of the glorious old banner whose protecting folds had so long waved over them. The secessionists found in him a formidable opponent. He struggled for the indivisibility of the republic as earnestly as they struggled for its disorganization and wreck. He rallied under the banner of "Constitutional Liberty" as constantly and orderly as they rallied under the piratical flag of the Confederate despotism, all stained with its foul crimes against humanity and God!

Rousseau's conduct in breasting the storm of fanaticism then sweeping over the State, his lofty appeals to the people to stand forth like men and assert their rights under the "old flag," and not like dumb brutes be tamely driven to the slaughter-house for their own destruction, his scathing anathemas, his epithets of derision and contempt heaped upon the heads of the traitors and their sympathizers, would render him a marked man and a hero in the history of the nation,

even had he never taken arms and dared death on the battle-field in its defence. He stood forth the unflinching advocate of the national cause. Naught could intimidate him from its espousal. His opposition to the rebel schemes moved right on, and never turned back :

" Like the Pontic sea,  
Whose icy current and compulsive course  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on  
To the Propontic and the Hellespont."

The history of Rousseau, from the time he left the Senate chamber and lifted the sword in defence of the principles he had so eloquently asserted, to the arrival of the army at Huntsville, Alabama, where he was assigned the command of General O. M. Mitchell's division, has been sufficiently recorded in the preceding pages, in the narration of events, in which he figures as a conspicuous actor ; but there are some occurrences outside of the strict historic record of the division yet well worthy of mention.

After the evacuation of Corinth, General Rousseau returned to Louisville, on a short leave of absence, to visit his family and friends. On the 16th of June the Union citizens of that city tendered him a splendid banquet at the Galt House. His Honor Mayor Delph presided, the general sitting at his right hand, while the Honorable James Guthrie occupied the seat on his left. After dinner many toasts were offered, among them the following :

"Our guest and friend, General Rousseau : When treason reared its hideous head he was among the foremost to meet it ; he rallied his countrymen to repel it from the soil of our State, and on the field of Shiloh his valor has made him still more distinguished. Kentucky views with pride the conduct of her son, and we will cherish his fame as one of the jewels of the State.

"As citizens of Louisville we cannot forget a memorable night in September, when our homes and firesides were threatened, and his sagacity had provided a serried front, to defend us against an invasion which many insisted was a danger existing only in imagination."

Judge Guthrie eloquently responded to this toast. Among other things he said :

"Upon the election of Mr. Lincoln, when South Carolina threatened, some citizens of Louisville met to raise a warning voice against hasty and inconsiderate action, and asking forbearance and a just trial of the new administration before condemning it. In that meeting the Union men lost the organization, and a committee on resolutions was appointed, a majority of whom were favorable to secession and joining the South. At that juncture General Rousseau was found a man of decisive action, and by adding him to the number of the committee we were enabled not only to overpower the secession element, but to carry out resolutions favorable to the Union. From that day General Rousseau never faltered in his devotion ; he was every where feeling the sentiment of the city and strengthening its loyalty—was present at every flag-raising, and encouraged these patriotic demonstrations, rallying the Union men and cheering them on, until the Stars and Stripes waved from every square in the city. When the counsels of wisdom were unheeded, and failed to reunite the North and South, General Rousseau saw the dangers of the bloody issue of arms, and was the first to raise men to defend the city and State."

General Rousseau replied in a speech of great earnestness and power, and among other things he said :

"On my return from Washington, with authority to enlist soldiers in Kentucky, the leading men of the State, who were for the Government, met at Louisville, and after mature deliberation resolved that it was impolitic to enlist soldiers here at that time. I was instructed from Washington to act in harmony with the Union men of the State. With much reluctance I abandoned the project of enlisting my soldiers on Kentucky soil, and went to Camp Jo Holt, in Indiana.

"All that time the rebels had their recruiting stations openly established in many places in Kentucky; they were paying large bounties to those who would join them in this city. This they could well afford to do, as the bounty was all they ever intended to pay them. I saw that our young men were flocking to their standard. I observed that every one they seduced into the ranks of treason took with him more or less of the sympathy of his kindred and friends. I saw the necessity of counteracting this by enlisting men on the side of the nation, thereby giving a loyal direction to the sympathies of our people. Well, I did not know at the beginning whether the Lincoln Government, as it was then called, could obtain credit to equip my troops. I was somewhat shy in asking it, and one or two refused to credit the Government for what I wanted. I needed tents, blankets, and commissary stores for my soldiers; but what we most needed was transportation. Several companies on the river asked for transportation to my camp. I called on my old friend, that true and tried patriot, Captain Zack Sherley, for help. He promptly said that he had for many years been a contractor for the Government of the United States; that it had paid him all it had ever owed him, and whether he was ever paid or not, he was not afraid to trust the Government, and he would cheerfully bring to my camp all the soldiers I could get, and he did so. I am, as the country is, under many obligations to Captain Sherley for his course at that time, for his services were invaluable.

"I raised my troops and equipped them. The traitors hated us intensely—called them 'Rousseau's Silver Creek Ragamuffins,' 'Lincoln Hirelings,' and 'Abolitionists.' They were drilled and disciplined, and on the field of Shiloh they repaid me—and their enemies, too—for all I and the soldiers had suffered. I am proud to say that a braver or more gallant brigade never entered a field of battle."

Again, alluding to the vexed question of slavery, he said :

“Slavery is not worth our Government—it is not worth our liberty—it is not worth all the precious blood now being poured out for freedom—it is not worth the free navigation of the Mississippi river! No,—we must still have our Government; we cannot be slaves to Jeff. Davis and Company. We must and will be free! We must have the free navigation of the Mississippi river; and if slavery gets in the way of any of these rights, why slavery must get out of the way. That would be the last resort, and I should be sorry to have recourse to it; but I am for the Government of our fathers, against all things and every body. Whilst the liberties of the people are secure under it, as they ever have been, I would allow nothing but death to prevent my upholding it; and, loth as you may be to decide, you will soon, as I believe, be called upon to do so. In spite of your entreaties, the issue will be cruelly thrust upon you, and you will be forced to decide between slavery and your wives and children. As for me I am ready for the responsibility. A Southern man, as I am, born and brought up in the South, with all my sympathies for the South, I could not hesitate one moment when the issue is presented between the nigger and the Government of our fathers. I am for the Government of the United States against all its enemies. I hope and pray that our Southern friends will not force us to extremes on this sensitive point. We deprecate such a result, for we want our rights under the Constitution, and we are all ready to fight for theirs under the good old Government. I would to-day most willingly gird on my sword and fight for any right belonging to them, *slavery included*; but they must not put slavery between me and the Government and laws of the United States. I will not consent to become a slave, that the negro may be kept a slave. I will not sacrifice the happiness of my wife, children and friends, the welfare of my beloved State, and the glory of my country, on an altar dedicated to the “Ebony Idol.” When I see placed on one side a Government formed by the noblest men the world has ever produced, the legacy of Washington to the human race, a glorious country filled with a happy and enlightened people and admired or feared on every spot that is trodden by the

foot of civilized man, and on the other rent into insignificant fragments, engaged in continual wars with each other, each on its knees begging assistance from some foreign monarch or other against a rival fragment, an object of contempt to him who uses it for his own purposes,—then I shall not be long in coming to a decision, though negro slavery may be on one side and not on the other.”

Thus spoke Rousseau. He proclaimed noble sentiments—such as should elicit the hearty endorsement of every freeman of the North. Should not such language arouse every friend of the Union to maintain our nationality, let come what may?

On the arrival of General Buell's army at Huntsville, Alabama, General Rousseau relinquished the command of his gallant brigade, and assumed command of General Mitchell's division, the latter having been ordered to Washington, preparatory to assignment to the department of South Carolina. His promotion was a serious loss to the “old brigade” and the division. But it was best he should go. His capacities fitted him for a higher command—a more extended field of duty, and he departed with the fervent “God bless you!” of every soldier in the old SECOND DIVISION. When the army moved eastward to Battle Creek, Tennessee, he was appointed post commandant at Huntsville, and the division under his direction performed guard duty, keeping up the railway communications northward to Columbia, Tennessee, and eastward to Stevenson, Alabama.

His appointment as commandant of the post of Huntsville was a choice eminently fit to be made.

His name carried with it there the same prestige it did in Kentucky. The Union men loved him almost to adoration: the rebels hated and feared him. On his approach, when marching southward to Muldraugh's Hill, Kentucky, at the outbreak of the rebellion, they fled to the hills and mountains, fearful that he would mete to them, guilty as they were of the basest apostacy, a just and speedy retribution.

General Rousseau is well fitted for administration. His strong practical intellect, strengthened by his experience as a legislator—his innate honesty—his calm and dignified address—his firmness, independence, disposition to do justice without fear or favor—his policy of dealing with secessionists with ungloved hands—his sound discrimination between military and civic duties, all combined to render him "the right man in the right place," and his subsequent success proved how wise was the selection. His course received the hearty approval of all Union men in that country, and the enthusiastic support of the soldiers; and even his enemies conceded to him uprightness of purpose in the discharge of his trust. Far better were it for our country and our cause had the national authorities and our chief commanders possessed his discrimination, moderation and firmness. It was under the management of such men that a new prestige, a new life, a new energy was inspired in the supporters of our cause, and rebels who heretofore had ruled the day began to feel dispirited and to realize that there was a *power* in the

North, and that their Confederacy bore strong resemblance with

"The meteor, that overhead  
Suddenly shines, and ere we've said,  
'Behold! how beautiful! 'tis fled!'"

When General Bragg entered upon his invasion of Kentucky, General Rousseau was ordered to Nashville, to assume command of that post; but General Buell arriving soon after, and finding all things in readiness and the city well fortified, ordered him again to the command of his division, and placed General James S. Negley in charge of the defences with a small garrison. The main army, in forced marches, then moved rapidly in pursuit of the rebel forces.

Upon the arrival of the army at Louisville it was reorganized, and General Rousseau's division was assigned to the First Corps, Major General A. McD. McCook commanding. When General McCook received instructions to move with his corps to Perryville, and prepare to attack the enemy, he directed General Rousseau to take the lead. The command moved from Maxville, on the Perryville road, at five o'clock, A. M. At half-past ten o'clock on that morning General Rousseau's column came abreast of General Gilbert's corps. He soon after formed his line of battle. There was some manœuvring of troops after this disposition, as an advance of the right of his line, but it was not materially changed.



At two o'clock in the afternoon the attack became general, commencing on General Jackson's division, and moving rapidly on General Rousseau's line. Of this fight—the bloodiest yet waged on this continent, considering the Union force engaged—it is not our province to speak. Suffice it, therefore, here to say, that throughout this fiery ordeal of death no troops ever fought better, resisted attack more obstinately, retreated more doggedly, or more signally repulsed the foe, than those of General Rousseau's division in the battle of Chaplin Hills. He was every where present, and dashed along his lines, reckless of the constant stream of fire poured upon them, and before which hundreds of brave boys fell, never more to renew the conflict in our country's defence. Never did commander feel more deeply for comrades in arms than did he during this terrible carnage; and when it ended he provided them every comfort possible to be obtained. The battle ceased when night drew her sable curtain over the scene. It was an awful night. The dead and wounded still lay upon the field—a sight fearfully sublime. Mother earth drinks in our comrades' blood! Stretched they lay, ready to be "in one red burial blent." Yes,—

"The majesty of Night  
Bows down superbly from her utmost height;  
Stretches her starless plumes across the world,  
And all the banners of the wind are furled.  
It is that hour when list'ning ones will weep,  
And know not why;—when we would gladly sleep  
Our last, last sleep, and feel no touch of fear,  
Unconscious where we are or what is near."

Major General McCook, in his official report of this engagement, thus alludes to General Rousseau's services: "If it were not a great pleasure, my duty compels me to call the attention of my superiors and my Government to the conspicuous gallantry and good conduct of Brigadier General L. H. Rousseau on this hotly contested field. The manner of posting his left, and the way it was maintained, render him one of the most conspicuous lights of this war." And General Buell, in telegraphing an account of it to the War Department, recommended his promotion "for distinguished gallantry and good service in the battle of Perryville," as it was first termed.

General Rousseau was at once promoted to rank as major general, from the 8th of October, the day of the battle, and his commission bears noble evidence of its worth, by containing the precise language of General Buell's dispatch.

When General Rosecrans assumed command of the army General Rousseau's division was assigned as the reserve corps of the centre. On the 31st day of December came the ever-memorable battle of Stone River. It is not, however, within the province of this sketch to dwell upon the minutiae of this great affair. As at Chaplin Hills, so it was at Stone River. General Rousseau displayed consummate ability in the management of his troops, and the most conspicuous personal heroism upon the field. Were his troops forced back under the murderous fire of an overwhelming attack, he, too, fell back with the column;

was a charge to be made, the enemy to be routed, a position to be taken, he accompanied those assigned the perilous undertaking. Every where his presence was the signal for marked demonstrations of delight and applause—the noblest evidence of soldierly qualities and approval.

Major General Rosecrans, in his official report to the Adjutant General of the army, after alluding to the distinguished services of Major Generals Thomas, McCook and Crittenden, says: "I doubly thank them, as well as the gallant, ever-ready Major General Rousseau, for their support in this battle."

When the army moved upon Tullahoma, in June, 1863, General Rousseau's division gave masterly support to General Reynolds, during the taking of Hoover's Gap, on the 24th instant, operated with success upon the enemy's left flank and drove him to Fairfield, pushed on to Elk river, driving the enemy in his retreat over the mountains, and finally, on the 4th of July, encamped near the Decherd and Pelham road, and some three miles from Winchester, the newly established headquarters of the army.

General Rousseau had long felt the need of a more adequate mounted force, in order successfully to contend with the rebel army in the mountain ranges of East Tennessee and Georgia. Our cavalry was insufficient: it could attempt no raid of great importance without the fear of total capture, merely from lack of numerical strength. To operate with infantry and field artillery involved much time and labor, with


uncertain results. The guarantee of success rested in a column, which, fully alive to the importance of prompt execution, could act with rapidity, and which could move with the utmost celerity, thereby confusing the enemy, throwing out decoys and deceiving him as to the real object intended, and keeping him in ignorance until the damage is completed.

To secure the authority of the War Department for the organization of a mounted infantry force, deemed by him invaluable in the coming advance on Chattanooga, General Rousseau procured a leave of absence from the commanding general, and proceeded to Washington, with a view of making known there the necessity of it, and the incompatibility of attempting the crossing of the Cumberland Mountains and the broad Tennessee without it.

He at once proceeded on his mission, and labored diligently for its accomplishment, but his project met with little sympathy, and no practical success. Meantime General Rosecrans, under imperative orders, had moved upon Chattanooga and fought the sanguinary battle of Chickamauga. Upon his return General Rousseau learned of the pending engagement, and anxious to be with his noble division, pressed on unremittingly, riding on horseback day and night, and reaching the battle-ground in the evening of the second day's fight. He was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm by the troops. Wherever he passed, whether his own soldiers or those of other divisions, the welkin rang with the wild acclaim of

welcome. No soldier could ask a more generous appreciation—no nobler tribute could be given. No commander ever received these manifestations of devotion with more earnest and heartfelt thanks. He immediately reported himself for duty and assumed command.

After the battle of Chickamauga the army was reorganized—General Rosecrans was relieved, and General George H. Thomas appointed his successor. This promotion of General Thomas legitimately entitled Rousseau to the command of the Fourteenth Army Corps; but the War Department, for unaccountable and manifestly unjust reasons, discarded him, and assigned Major General John M. Palmer to the command. Palmer is a good soldier, a skillful commander, and worthy the honors bestowed upon him. The fault was not his: it lay in Washington. The army considered it an insult to the fair fame of a beloved general—a display of malice against a worthy and able soldier, one who possessed the most unbounded confidence of his comrades in arms. It considered the action of the Department a species of ingratitude which would not soon be forgotten or forgiven. Rousseau was calm. Like a man conscious of his own strength of character, he bided his fate. General Thomas, a man of great heart, keenness of perception and honesty of purpose, thoroughly appreciating Rousseau's services, his worth and ability, offered him the command of Middle Tennessee, with headquarters at Nashville. It was tendered in the



spirit of frankness and accepted as freely.<sup>1</sup> This position, which he still holds, is one of great importance, requiring a civico-military administration. In the discharge of this high trust he has been eminently successful. His policy is firm and vigorous, yet gentle and forbearing, and he has done much to restore the people of his district to their ancient faith in our Government. He is popular with all classes

1. On taking leave of his division he issued the following farewell order:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }  
CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee, November 12, 1863. }

*General Orders, No. 77.*

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE FIRST DIVISION,  
FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

A year and a half ago I succeeded the gallant and patriotic General O. M. Mitchell in the command of the third division, now the first, of the Fourteenth Army Corps. During that period the trials and sufferings you have so unflinchingly borne, the gallant deeds you have performed in the fiercest struggles of this war, together with the cheerful spirit you manifested in the discharge of all a soldier's arduous and trying duties, have excited my heartfelt sympathy, and will always command my admiration.

In yielding up my command for one in another field of duty, I feel that I am severing one of the strongest ties that can exist between friends and brothers in arms. In taking leave of those who have dared danger and death by my side—who without a murmur have borne the "pitiless peltings" of the elements, and bravely breasted the storm of battle—I must be allowed to say, I feel honored in having commanded you. Your behavior on the bloody fields of Perryville, of Stone River and of Chickamauga, which covered you with glory, can never be forgotten. I know you fought in those battles for no vainglory; but, prompted by your love of country and of its glorious and sacred cause, you struggled for the unity of your nation, for your nationality, and all the greatness and glory and blessings that belong to it.

I leave you with regret—with heartfelt sorrow; for there is not an officer or soldier of my command to whom I do not feel grateful for his gallantry and soldierly bearing. In the future, as in the past, I know your services and chivalric deeds will challenge the admiration of your countrymen; and I shall exult then, as now, in the recollection that once you were called "Rousseau's Division."

Good-by, my brave comrades in arms, and may God bless you!

LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU, Major General Commanding.

of people save the bitter rebels, and they concede to him affability and honesty.

Since the issuing of the President's "amnesty" proclamation a great change has taken place in the sentiments of Tennesseans. They have read and pondered well its conditions, and perhaps no man has taken a deeper interest in having it understood than General Rousseau. In speeches, addresses and letters, both public and private, he has labored faithfully for the restoration of the State to its former proud position in the National Union. Nor have his efforts been unavailing. The day is not far distant when treason, in all its forms, will be trodden under foot, and the "old flag" wave over a wiser and happier people.

To describe truthfully the career of a living man is a perplexing yet praiseworthy task. In it there are many difficulties, for the finer lines of character, the secret springs of action, the underlying current from which emanate the impulses that actuate or control human conduct are frequently unknown or but very imperfectly traced. Men should therefore be described as they are; and this delineation can only be based upon such knowledge as is derived from personal observation, the recorded actions of their lives, and the testimony of others.

General Rousseau is tall, robust, and commanding in person. He has a large face and full eye. As a man and a citizen he is distinguished for his love of truth, prudence, benevolence, caution, perseverance,

modesty, mental and moral excellence; as an advocate he is thoughtful, earnest and eloquent; as a legislator he is upright, solicitous for the best interests of his constituents, eminently practical in his views, active in his exertions to secure good government and elevate the condition of the people, by securing them every possible right, and watching with jealous eye every encroachment upon their privileges or constitutional guarantees; as a statesman he is comprehensive in policy, wise in counsel, and powerful in action; as a patriot he proved himself ardently devoted to his country in its darkest days of peril, when secession by covert means sought to destroy the good name of his native State by precipitating it into the vortex of open rebellion, in denouncing treason and rallying to his standard a gallant command, which shortly after formed the nucleus of one of the most magnificent armies in the republic; as a soldier and a general he is brave to a fault, skillful, kind to his troops, and always their favorite. All in all, with all his faults—and few men have less—he stands forth a noble and conspicuous actor in the grand drama of the nation's life, and can but be regarded as a remarkable man and a noble representative of the intrinsic worth of American institutions.



## CHAPTER XI.

### THE COUNTERMARCH FROM THE TENNESSEE RIVER TO THE OHIO RIVER.

ABOUT the 20th of August it was reported, upon evidence deemed reliable, that the rebel army under General Bragg had crossed the Tennessee river at or near Chattanooga, and was ascending the Cumberland mountains, to debouch from the Sequatchy valley, and that his probable destination was Nashville. This movement at once placed the Army of the Ohio in a disastrous position, inasmuch as it threatened its entire line of communication with the North. As previously stated, our army was almost without supplies, having not to exceed ten days' rations for the men, and scarcely anything for the animals. The country, too, was destitute of corn—fodder alone could be obtained. The army being in such a strait, the only plan which promised safety was to withdraw from the line of the Tennessee river, and the Charleston and Memphis railroad, and concentrate either at



Murfreesboro or Nashville, thereby massing our forces sufficiently to cope with Bragg, maintain possession of Nashville, and the better protect our communications with the source of supply. Accordingly, orders were issued for a *countermarch*.

At noon on the 20th of August the command of General McCook received orders "to cook two days' rations, and be ready to move forward at short notice." This was the first intimation of a *movement*, and it was received with expressions of delight. At eight o'clock that evening the division commenced its march. Not a bugle note, not a drum-beat, not a cheer was heard to enliven the stillness of the night. The stars that twinkled overhead in heaven's blue vault were the soldiers' only inspiration. Cautiously they proceeded to Battle Creek. Evidently they were about to execute some grand *coup-de-main*—to surprise the rebels at Chattanooga, to take that important point, to capture Bragg's army, while the rebel pickets across the Tennessee, ever watchful, dreamed not of their departure. But the column was hardly in motion ere it was halted and lay on its arms for the night. At daylight it moved up the valley, passed Jasper, and bivouacked for that night. The next morning at five o'clock the march was resumed. The troops thought Chattanooga the point of destination. Rumor said that the divisions of Generals Thomas, Wood and Crittenden were moving over the Cumberland mountains from the north, to aid in the attack. They deemed the battle near at hand; that

probably ere Erebus again threw his darkening folds over our world a battle would be inaugurated which should make final disposition of the rebel cause in the West. They felt that the rebel force was very strong—that it was composed of the survivors of the carnage-stained Shiloh—men who had long been taught in that baptism of fire and blood to believe they were fighting for country and home, for the dearest rights of nationality—*freedom* and *independence*. Yet they faltered not; they did not desire to avoid the contest. Like Godfrey de Bouillon, they felt that inscribed on their banners was the olden war cry, “God Wills It!” and that was sufficient. Chattanooga, though a Gibraltar in strength, was no obstacle to the energy that then inspired them. A march of three miles and a *halt*. Soon an orderly sped along the column, communicating to the commanders the order of *countermarch*. What could this mean? “Has Bragg anticipated our movements?” “Has he crossed the Tennessee and moved down the mountains with a superior force to meet us?” “Has he made a stand in the gorge of the mountains, or is he flanking us and aiming to cut off our retreat?” Such were the questions propounded by the men, but no one seemed able to answer them. Affairs appeared to have changed: the tidal sea was at its height; now came the ebb. Their hope, their faith, like the meteor’s glare, had fled—perchance forever. To them the star of rebel prowess seemed fast becoming “lord of the ascendant.”

They countermarched a short distance, and then the direction was changed. The Cumberland mountains now lay in their front. To cross them was the next move in the panorama of war. Tedious, tiresome it was. The mountains—one vast pile of rocks, strata upon strata—were rough, broken, steep, precipitous, and seemingly perpendicular. Up these acclivities, roadless and pathless, the heavy supply train must be hauled, likewise the heavier cannon and munitions of war. Whole companies were placed at the wagons, cannon carriages and caissons, and shoulders at the wheels. Hercules-like they were lifted up. It was not unlike Napoleon's advance over the Alps. The ascent was nearly consummated, and the soldiers were rejoicing that their labor was so nearly ended, when lo! again came the order to countermarch. Still no one knew the reason. It was indeed discouraging thus to operate among such rugged heights, and seemingly to no purpose. Slowly the descent was made. Some wagons were abandoned, some animals left to die from exhaustion or overheating, while some men, faint and heartsick, or worn out by the toil of the day, straggled along or threw themselves down to pass the night; but most of the command safely reached the valley and proceeded to Battle Creek, where it arrived at ten o'clock that night.

Chagrin now marked the countenances of the men. After three days of weary marching beneath an August sun, in the oppressive heat of the Tennessee

valley and the rocks of the Cumberland mountains, they had accomplished nothing only a return to their former camping-ground. They, like

●  
"The King of France, with forty thousand men,  
Marched up the hill, and then marched down again!"

The reason for this they knew not, but there was one. Bragg with his army had crossed the Tennessee, and was slowly moving through the Sequatchy valley. The head of his column, at all events, and perhaps the main part of his force, was already in the mountains, and debouching northward, precisely where General McCook intended to debouch with his command. To keep on and attempt to cross the mountains, and risk an attack by the combined rebel force was obviously improper. To remain in the mountains was hazardous, as Bragg might easily learn of his whereabouts and make a disposition of his force to capture him. His line of retreat once cut off from the valley, and he was at the mercy of the rebel hosts. His only course, therefore, was to return to Battle Creek, to keep advised by scouts of the enemy's movements, and as soon as he had well turned our flank and passed down the mountains, to follow after, and, watching the direction of the enemy, hasten with all speed to effect a junction with the main army, undoubtedly still either at Decherd or McMinnville.

There are several roads crossing the Cumberland range by which our army can descend into the plains of Middle Tennessee. There is the Thierman road,



which crosses the mountains at Altamont, and there diverges into four roads, all of which descend into the valley between Decherd and McMinnville. Another road ascends the mountains from Pikeville, and then branches, the right-hand road leading to Sparta and the left-hand road to McMinnville. There is also another road which leads to McMinnville from the Sparta road, when within about twenty miles of the former place. There is also another running for some distance on the top of the mountains, and connecting all these roads. The enemy moved on the Thierman and Sparta roads. General McCook on the 23d of August resumed his march, crossed the mountains at Altamont and descended by way of Pelham and McMinnville. The command did not proceed to the latter place, however, but moved upon another road to Murfreesboro, *via* Manchester and Beech Grove, that point being designated as the place where the army should concentrate. There was much skillful manœuvring of the troops by General McCook, while on the mountains and near Pelham, to evade the rebel cavalry. While at Pelham, on the 26th of August, General J. W. Sill was assigned the command of the SECOND DIVISION, and Colonel H. M. Buckley, of the "Louisville Legion," again assumed command of the fourth brigade. At Manchester the Eighteenth Ohio Infantry, Colonel Stanley, left here as a guard until the SECOND DIVISION came up, was temporarily attached to General Willich's brigade. On the 5th of September the

division arrived at Murfreesboro, where the greater part of the army was in bivouac.

On the 20th instant, when the troops of General McCook's command started on their march towards the mountains, the army train, loaded with the camp equipage, including tents, was ordered to Stevenson, Alabama, whither it proceeded on the 21st. At this place, from the 20th to the 25th of August, were concentrated immense quantities of army stores, which were rapidly shipped north to Nashville. The troops at Bridgeport, Alabama, seven miles distant, were withdrawn, upon which the rebels crossed the river and burned it. They then marched on Battle Creek, where General McCook had thrown up strong breastworks, a long line of rifle pits and a fort. Here again a portion of a new Tennessee regiment was forced to leave suddenly, burning their tents, destroying their subsistence and the greater portion of their means of transportation. At this juncture the soldiers guarding the line of railroad from Stevenson to Huntsville were withdrawn, Huntsville and Athens evacuated, and General Rousseau sent to Nashville with his command. General Buell and staff arrived at Stevenson on the 22d. With his arrival the evacuation of all the country westward was complete. The transportation wagons were forthwith ordered to cross the mountains to Decherd, all supplies were transported by rail, and a Michigan regiment was ordered to hold the place at all hazards until all the Government stores should be safely removed out of

the way. This they did until Sunday, the 24th instant, when the rebels, two brigades strong, with two batteries of light artillery, advanced from Bridgeport and opened fire upon the town. The fire was brisk and continued—the range precise, nearly every shell striking in the streets and around the depot. The soldiers hastened to the fort and stockades, while the citizens (men, women and children) ran screaming for the mountain back of the town. The guns in the fort replied briskly and with effect, for they kept the rebel horde at a safe distance during the day. That night, however, the transportation of the stores and sick in hospital being completed, they evacuated the town, and next day the rebels entered in triumph, but were chagrined at the loss of their supposed prey.

Meantime General Negley successfully evacuated Columbia, Tennessee, saving all his transportation and a large quantity of army stores, besides gathering herds of cattle for army use.

By the 8th of September the entire army was concentrated at Nashville. It had successfully made a change of front, and advanced in pursuit of the foe. Instead of its right resting at Huntsville and Athens, and its left resting on Battle Creek, as it had in the early and mid-summer, it was massed into one great column, ready to move and crush the enemy wherever he could be found. It was at one time intended to advance from Murfreesboro, and give the enemy battle at Sparta, but he delayed not at this place.




Meantime the immense wagon trains of the army had gathered into one great park at Decherd; and thence, under the command of Captain J. F. Boyd, quartermaster of the SECOND DIVISION, proceeded to Nashville, *via* Winchester, Tullahoma, Shelbyville and Murfreesboro. The brigade of General Shœpf served as train guard, and the trip was safely accomplished.

The enemy entered the State flushed with hopes and confident of victory. When at Sparta Bragg issued a proclamation to his soldiers. It was couched in these terms:

“COMRADES:—Our campaign opens auspiciously. The enemy is in full retreat, with consternation and demoralization devastating his ranks. To secure the fruits of this condition we must press on and unceasingly.

Alabamians,—Your State is redeemed! Tennesseans,—Your Capitol and State are almost restored without firing a gun! You return conquerors, Kentuckians! The first great blow has been struck for your freedom. Soldiers from other States,—Share the happiness of our more fortunate brothers, and press on with them for the redemption of their homes and women.”

If the rebel general had designed making Nashville his first object of attack, it was frustrated by the rapid concentration of our army in that city. Consequently he pushed northward to the invasion of Kentucky, crossing the Cumberland river at Carthage, several miles east of Nashville. Arrived at Nashville, General Buell was reinforced by the division of General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Mississippi Army. This division was five thousand strong. His




effective force was now increased to about forty thousand men.

The withdrawal of the Union forces from Tennessee was the cause of much excitement and alarm among the friends of our Government throughout the State, and especially in Nashville. Johnson, Maynard, Etheridge, and other prominent men, held a consultation on the question of the *defence* or *evacuation* of the city, and asserted boldly that it should *never be abandoned*, and that if the Federal protection was withdrawn, and the city attacked by the rebel mob, *their bones might be found beneath the ruins of the capitol!* Never before was witnessed loftier devotion to country and flag than was manifested by the Union people of Nashville during that fearful crisis of action. Loyal men of Tennessee were pacing through the halls of her spacious capitol, crying like children, declaring their willingness to sacrifice all in behalf of the Union, but imploring with an eloquence angel-tongued, the semblance at least of the power of the national arm, to awe and intimidate the rebellious spirit which slumbered in the city, and only awaited the absence of the power it dreaded to burst forth with volcanic energy and raise anew the despicable banner of the Southern Confederacy. It is not probable that General Buell ever intended to abandon the city. In the conduct of a war there are always two opinions which must be carefully studied, and their influences made to harmonize, if possible, for both sustain an important

part in the success or defeat of a campaign. These opinions are military and political. Sometimes both operate equally—sometimes one will outweigh the other; but the bearings of neither should ever be discarded without earnest and mature reflection. As to Nashville it cannot be disputed that its occupation was a matter of some military importance, although it is true the war was being carried back to Northern Kentucky; but at this juncture in affairs it is evident that the political importance of the occupation was paramount to its military importance, and its evacuation would produce an equally disastrous effect,—consequently, it should be maintained, if with any probability of success. Doubtless this was General Buell's opinion, for such was the language of his officers. General James S. Negley was therefore left with what was deemed an adequate garrison to defend the city, and the remainder of the army by forced marches pushed on to the Ohio.

The SECOND DIVISION left Nashville on the march northward on the 9th of September; but previous to its departure the First Kentucky Battery, Captain D. C. Stone, was transferred to General Rousseau's division, and Battery E, First Ohio Artillery, formerly of General Rousseau's command, was attached to the division and assigned for duty to the fifth brigade. The movement of the army was rapid, the last division reaching Bowling Green by the 15th instant. Here rations and a small allowance of quartermasters' stores were issued to the men, they having




been previously concentrated there by order of General Buell. When our forces arrived at Bowling Green the rear of the rebel army was at Glasgow, some thirty miles north; but they had gained upon it, having marched sixty-five miles while it had moved but fifty. After a delay of from two to three days, caused in part by waiting for the closing-up of the rear divisions, in part by the issuing of stores, and in part by other unknown causes, the army was again put in motion, advancing to Bell's Tavern and Pruett's Knob.

It had been supposed that Bragg would halt at Glasgow and give battle, inasmuch as his position commanded the line connecting with the Federal base of supplies, while it secured his own, which was by the East Tennessee railroad; but the fortunate capture of rebel dispatches established the fact that Louisville was the ulterior object of attack. Preparations were accordingly made to thwart it. Meantime the rebel army moved upon Munfordsville, there attacked the garrison, under command of Colonel Wilder, of the Seventeenth Indiana, and after a long and stubborn resistance he was compelled to surrender. His force is stated to have been about four thousand one hundred men. They were paroled and sent to General Buell.

Much ill feeling was aroused against General Buell upon the occurrence of this affair. Our army was close at hand, eager to meet the enemy, and anxious to encounter him upon ground with which a great

part of it was so familiar. Without attempting to enter into any defence of General Buell in this matter, it is nevertheless strictly in place to make a brief statement of the condition of affairs, that the true position may be understood. First, Munfordsville was not in General Buell's jurisdiction; it had been recently placed under another commander. Secondly, there was no communication between General Buell and General Gilbert, the commander in Kentucky, as the rebel army was virtually *between them*; nor did he have an opportunity to know the actual condition of the garrison—whether upon the approach of the rebel column it had maintained or evacuated the post.

From the march and disposition of our forces it is evident General Buell designed to attack the enemy, if in position at Glasgow. Failing in this, the army expected the attack to be made at Munfordsville; but in this it was disappointed. Again: much indignation was felt that the rebels were allowed to escape from this position. It did indeed seem a calamity to our arms, as it evidently permitted the enemy to make a still greater inroad into the State. But here it must be remembered that the enemy was between our forces and our base of supplies, with an army the strength of which could only be approximated, and which was placed at fifty thousand men. Should we be successful and the enemy routed, all would be well; but if defeated, what was the prospect then? Our army would be compelled to gain the Ohio by




another direction; while the enemy, flushed with victory, would have marched direct upon Louisville, defeated with ease the new levies of raw and undisciplined troops with which that place was defended, and the occupation of Kentucky, if not rendered permanent, would be prolonged, and could only be gained at last, if gained at all, by renewed and extraordinary exertions on the part of our Government. The moral effect of this disaster might well cause the heart of every Unionist to tremble with fear as to our success. General Buell was held to be one of our ablest commanders. In an engagement the Army of the Ohio desired no abler leader; but the growing radicalism of the army found his administration faulty, as he was eminently conservative—too conservative to suit their ideas and demands concerning the nature of this contest. They disliked his mode of administration, his policy of dealing with rebels—men of avowed hostility, though not in arms—his views of logistics in the manner of forage, subsistence and support; and more than this, a sentiment, the outgrowth of these adverse opinions, constantly increased in intensity, until the army to a very great extent believed his heart was not in our cause, if indeed he was not a secret traitor to it. Thus he lost the confidence of his men; that withdrawn, its usefulness was immensely diminished.

It is a serious matter to charge a public servant—one who has served the country and shown such evidence of fitness for command as General Buell had

done on the field of Shiloh—with being lukewarm, if not a traitor in the cause his lips professed. It is certain that in the commission which was afterwards convened to investigate his conduct in the management of this, his last campaign, no evidence was found to substantiate a charge of disloyalty; and it may here be added that this same commission upheld his course as a whole in that summer campaign. In his review of the evidence before the military commission he thus adverts to the question of attacking Bragg at Munfordsville. It is considered a remarkable document and a masterly defence of his course while in command of the "Army of the Ohio," and kindred in character to that made by the rebel General A. Sidney Johnston, when compelled to evacuate the defences of Bowling Green and the Cumberland:

"The position at Munfordsville is one of great natural strength for a large force. I understand it was the subject of dissatisfaction that the rebel army was not attacked in that position; but I have never heard that the feeling was concurred in by the officers of higher rank, several of whom, distinguished before and since for gallant conduct, have testified that such an attack would not have been judicious under the circumstances. The advantage of position in favor of the enemy must have made the result doubtful at least; and even a very serious check, in the exhausted condition of our supplies, would have been disastrous. I could have avoided the enemy by passing to either side of him, but I deemed it all-important to force him further into the State, instead of allowing him to fall back upon Bowling Green and Nashville; and I matured a plan, and determined to attack there rather than allow him that course. I believed that the condition of his supplies would compel him to abandon his position, and I was very well satisfied when that proved to be the case. He commenced to with-



draw on the night of the 20th, and my advance drove out his rear guard, after some skirmishing, on the 21st. The march was continued and skirmishing was kept up with his rear guard until he turned off towards Bardstown.

"Many considerations rendered it proper to direct my march on Louisville, instead of following his route. The want of supplies made it necessary, many of the troops being out by the time they reached the mouth of Salt river. This reason would have been insuperable if, as was not improbable, the enemy should concentrate his force and throw himself rapidly between me and Louisville. The junction of Bragg and Kirby Smith was not only possible, but probable. It would have made their combined force greatly superior to me in strength, and such a disposition would have placed him between two inferior forces, which from their positions could not have acted in concert against him, and which were therefore liable to be beaten in detail. One of these forces, that occupying Louisville, was composed of perfectly raw, undisciplined, and in a measure unarmed troops, with but very little artillery, and very few officers of rank or experience. It could not have withstood the veteran rebel army two hours, and the consequence of its defeat and the capture of Louisville would have been disastrous in the extreme. That force, however, judiciously mixed with my old troops, could be made to render good service, as the result proved. These considerations determined me to concentrate rapidly at Louisville."

General Bragg concentrated his forces at Bardstown, while General Buell hastened to Louisville. The entire army arrived there between the 27th and 29th of September. At last the goal was reached, at which they could for a day at least rest from their weary march. From the 20th of August to this time they had moved day after day under the rays of a scorching Southern sun, and over roads covered with dust, which rose in suffocating clouds above their heads, meanwhile subsisting to a great extent upon



the fruits and green corn found in the country which they traversed, bivouacking at night with no covering save the star-lit or stormy sky,—and all these hardships had been borne with that patience so characteristic of soldiers fighting for a principle which they hold dearer than life itself.

Their entrance into Louisville was the occasion of the most inspiring scenes. The streets were filled with the populace, and from doors, balconies and windows beautiful ladies and children waved handkerchiefs and tiny Union flags, and hailed our soldiers as “Deliverers and defenders of the city!” All along the streets buckets of water and baskets of provisions were placed for their refreshment, and women, amidst mingled smiles and tears, sobbed, “God bless you!” to our noble soldiers. Although ragged and barefoot, in consequence of the long march of two hundred and fifty miles, and the exposures encountered, it was deemed no disgrace, but the most honorable proof of devotion to the great cause. Such was their welcome by the loyal people of Louisville—a welcome which the soldiers knew was earnest and from the heart, and as such it was deeply appreciated. The ladies’ smiles and cheers, and their kindly words of welcome, gladdened their hearts, and they felt that with so much beauty and sympathy on their side they could not fail of success.

The rebel invasion of Kentucky created great excitement among the people of that State; and when the defeat of our forces under Major General

William Nelson, at Richmond, Kentucky, became known, the alarm became still greater. Not only Kentucky, but Ohio and Indiana, feared that the bloody track of war would yet rest upon their soil.

On the 1st of September the forces of E. Kirby Smith entered Lexington. The secession element of the State was every where enthusiastic in their demonstrations of delight. At Lexington the rebels received a princely welcome. The Union people trembled for their safety, and felt that ruin was soon to be their fate. The Governor directed the archives of the State to be removed from Frankfort to Louisville, and adjourned the Legislature to meet in that city. The people of Louisville rallied to the call of the Mayor, and enrolled in companies for home defence; and when, on the 10th of September, Kirby Smith's forces occupied Latonia Springs, a distance of about seven miles from Cincinnati, there was good ground for commotion among the people of Ohio. But Smith's move was only a feint, to cover the real object of attack; besides, Major General Lewis Wallace, who was in command at Cincinnati, had troops enough to hold the enemy in check, even had he attempted the capture of that city.

General Nelson repaired to Louisville with his forces after his defeat at Richmond, and assumed command of the forces there. The President's call for troops in July had been promptly responded to in the West, and new regiments were rapidly coming to the rescue. Undisciplined as they were,

they were shortly to witness and participate in the fearful realities of war, and drain its bitter cup to the dregs.

Meantime the rebel leaders had not been idle. Their generals issued flaming addresses to the people, recounting their wrongs and urging them to strike now for freedom. On the 18th of September, when the rebel army was at Glasgow, General Bragg issued an address to the people, informing them that he had come with the Confederate army of the West, to offer them an opportunity to free themselves from the tyranny of a despotic ruler; that he came not as a conqueror or despoiler, but to restore to them those liberties of which they had been deprived by a cruel and relentless foe—to guarantee to all the sanctity of their homes and altars—to punish with a rod of iron the despoilers of their peace, and to avenge the cowardly insults to their women. And again, at Bardstown, General S. B. Buckner, on the 29th of September, issued his proclamation to the people, calling on them to rally for the defence of the rights of the Southern Confederacy, and no longer submit to make themselves instruments in the hands of New England to make war upon their own interests and upon the interests of their brothers of the South. The sequel of this grand invasion—or it may be styled grand military farce—proves how successful the rebel leaders were in swerving the people of Kentucky from their true allegiance.

## CHAPTER XII.

REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY—PURSUIT OF BRAGG'S  
FORCES—AFFAIRS OF FLOYD'S FORK, CLAYSVILLE,  
LAWRENCEBURG AND DOG WALK—CAPTURE OF  
QUARTERMASTERS—MARCH TO BOWLING GREEN.

From the 25th of September to the 1st of October Louisville presented a scene of unparalleled activity. Thousands of the new troops, enrolled under the July call for an additional three hundred thousand of volunteers, were encamped all around the city, and upon the Indiana shore, rallied there to repel the threatened capture of that city. To this teeming mass of soldiery was added the veteran "Army of the Ohio," hungry, ragged and begrimed with dust, having successfully completed one of the most remarkable marches on record. A gigantic task was now on hand. This great army of men must be fed and clothed, and to a great extent newly equipped. Provision must be made for subsisting this army on the march soon to occur; the necessary munitions of war must be provided and properly distributed, and

everything furnished necessary to the successful prosecution of a great campaign. Evidently the first step was to reorganize the army. This was done by dividing it into three distinct *corps-d'armee*, each complete in infantry, cavalry and artillery, and competent to act by itself, if necessity should compel a separate action.

Major General McCook was assigned to the command of the first corps, forming the left wing; Major General Crittenden the second corps, the right wing; Major General Gilbert the third corps, the centre. The SECOND DIVISION was assigned to Major General McCook's corps. Such was the new organization of the Army of the Ohio. Among the minor changes which occurred, the following relate to the SECOND DIVISION.

On the 29th of September Colonel E. N. Kirk, who had returned to the field in August, and been placed in command of a brigade in the "Army of Kentucky," was directed by General Buell to resume command of his old brigade. His return was hailed with pleasure, as his gentlemanly and soldierly qualities had endeared him to the men. Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh,<sup>1</sup> of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania

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1. Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh was born in Southampton township, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, on the 14th of April, 1817. His occupation was that of a farmer until the age of twenty-three, during which time he received only twenty-seven months of schooling—such as was afforded by the common day-schools near his residence. At this time he left home, and engaged in the forwarding and commission business in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and continued in it until 1854. From 1850 to 1854 he devoted most of his leisure time to the study of law, and at the January Term of the Circuit Court in 1854, after a rigid examination,

Infantry, who had commanded the brigade since the battle of Shiloh, rejoined his regiment. On the same day the Fiftieth Ohio Infantry was assigned to the fifth brigade; but during the afternoon the order was revoked, and the Ninety-third Ohio Infantry, Colonel Charles Anderson, was assigned in its place. The Seventy-ninth Illinois Infantry, Colonel Guinipp, was assigned to the fourth brigade, and the

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he was admitted to practice in the several courts of Franklin county. He continued practice until April, 1861, meeting with excellent success. Although devoted to the study and practice of law, he had ever displayed a fondness for the military profession, and at different times raised three companies of militia, almost wholly at his own expense, and was elected captain of each of them. The firing into and surrender of Fort Sumter roused the national heart. Stumbaugh was among the first to rally for the vindication of our insulted honor. He raised the Second Pennsylvania Infantry in two days, and on the 19th of April was commissioned its colonel. The three months' campaign ended, the regiment returned home, and was mustered out of service on the 21st of July, 1861.

In August, 1861, Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh received authority to raise a regiment of infantry, with a battery of artillery attached. The regiment was numbered the Seventy-seventh, and the battery the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, and was ordered into General Negley's famous Pennsylvania brigade. In October General Negley's command was ordered to Kentucky, arriving at Camp Nevin (General McCook's front) on the 23d of October. On the 9th of December, 1861, the regiment and battery were assigned to the fifth brigade, General T. J. Wood, commanding. In the same month the battery was detached from the regiment, and made independent by an order of the War Department.

Colonel Stumbaugh led the regiment into the action of Shiloh—its first baptism in the blood of Mars, and nobly it maintained the reputation for gallantry of the old Keystone State. It was the only Pennsylvania regiment engaged in this battle.

Colonel E. N. Kirk, commanding the brigade, having been seriously wounded, Colonel Stumbaugh assumed the command, which he retained throughout the advance upon and siege of Corinth, the Alabama and Tennessee campaigns, and the masterly retreat of Buell to the Ohio. Having arrived at Louisville, Kentucky, Colonel E. N. Kirk returned and assumed command. Colonel Stumbaugh now obtained leave of absence, but on reaching home was taken sick, from which he was a long time recovering. On the 8th of December, 1862, he was appointed by President Lincoln a brigadier general, but it was subsequently revoked, owing to the limitation of the number. He was honorably discharged the service by Special Order No. 217 of the War Department, to date from the 7th of December, 1862. Colonel Stumbaugh was a kind-hearted man and a faithful soldier. His best encomium is, that the soldiers called him "Father Stumbaugh." He now resides in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Eighty-ninth Illinois Infantry, Colonel John Christopher, to the sixth brigade. This constituted the reorganization of the division.

The retreat of the "Army of the Ohio" from its extended front along the Tennessee and Alabama line to the Ohio river, although admirably conducted and from the position of affairs still bearing the semblance of an advance, was not without its disastrous effects. A retreat is always demoralizing; and just so far as demoralization succeeds discipline, to that extent efficiency is lost. And indeed the disastrous result extends further than this: it effects those who remain true to their duty and seek to maintain the honor and stability of the army, for it weakens their numerical strength, impresses them with forebodings naturally resulting from such a disaster, and impairs the high moral tone which is possessed by an army when in the field and bearing the *prestige* of victors.

General Buell's forces had moved from Corinth, with the intention of occupying Chattanooga; but Bragg moved with commendable celerity, and transferring his troops through the States of Alabama and Georgia, occupied Chattanooga in advance of General Buell.<sup>2</sup> This proved the turning point in the campaign. The mass of the soldiers considered General Buell out-generaled, and felt deeply chagrined that after driving the rebel forces from Kentucky across

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2. See General Halleck's Official Report of December 2d, 1862—"Rebellion Record," vol. vi: doc. 58, page 218.

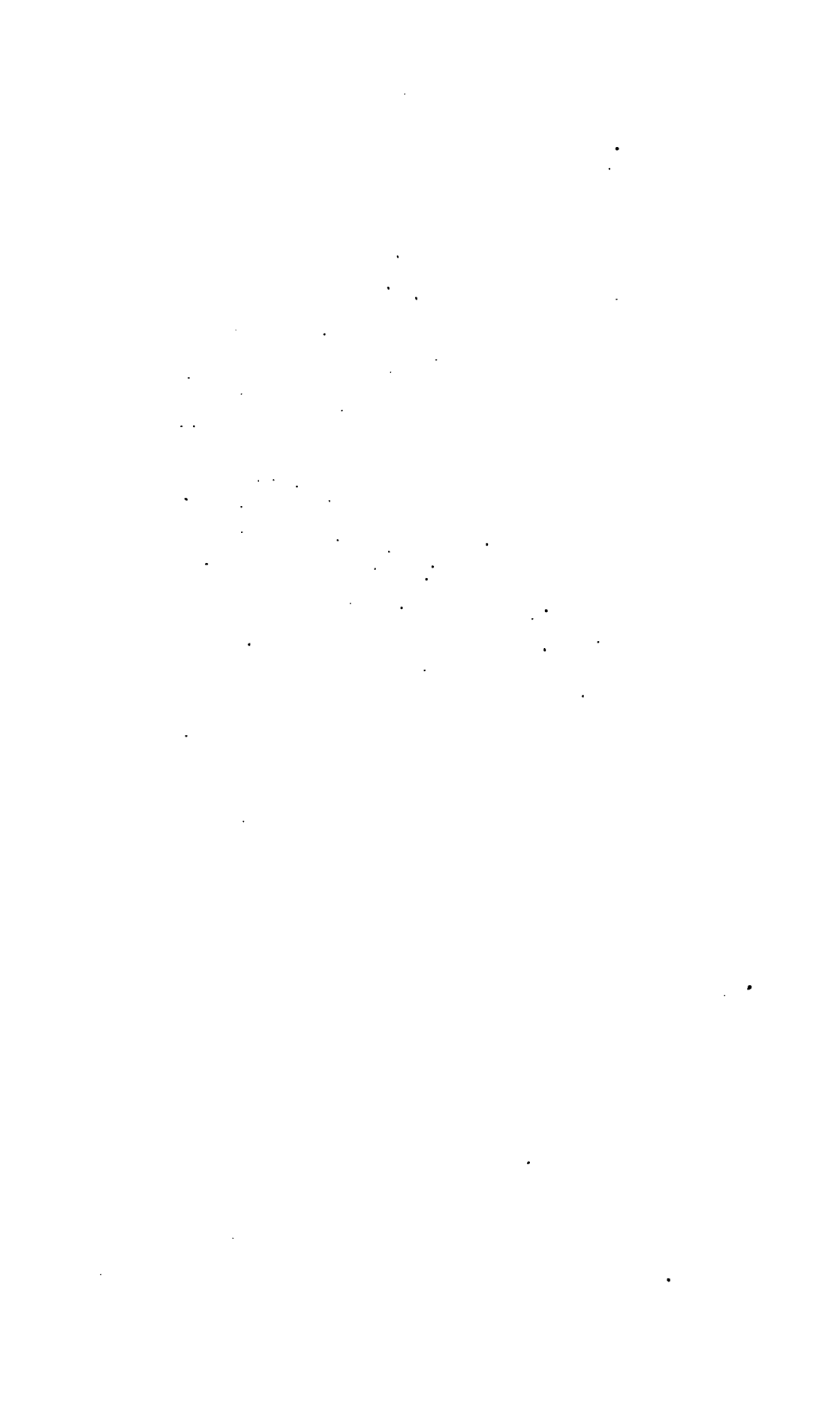
the Tennessee, they should now be forced back to the Ohio, and perhaps across it, and thus in a single strategic plan lose all they had ever gained, and apparently be as far from crushing the rebellion as when they entered the field. But such are the fortunes of war. History abounds in similar reverses, and it also records how apparent defeat by skillful management was turned into brilliant and enduring victory. It was evident that the campaign necessitated by this disadvantage must be principally one of manœuvres rather than of battles; and here the army, or rather a portion of it, judging by this backward step, failed to appreciate General Buell's capacity. They distrusted his success as a tactician, and even seemed fearful of a defeat in a defensive battle. All these considerations—the result of a sombre and disheartening view of affairs—resulted in the decimation of our forces to a fearful extent upon arriving at Louisville. The soldiers in their short service had been accustomed to a succession of victories, and could not bear up against the trials of adversity. Thus hundreds, even thousands, escaped across the Ohio and proceeded to their homes—many with the intention of returning to their commands; but many others, alas! wilfully deserted their cause and flag. The number computed to have thus left the army while at Louisville is ten thousand men, or about one-fourth of that veteran force—those splendid legions which in fiery ardor had driven the foe from State to State, engaged and defeated him at Shiloh, and forced him



to a humiliating retreat from his fortifications at Corinth : a sad contrast indeed, when displayed with that character, that fortune, and that devoted chivalric honor which previously had inspired the entire army. The SECOND DIVISION had its share of these recreants and deserters.

But the loss of confidence in General Buell was not the only cause operating for the destruction of his army. Already had the spirit of revolt been kindled in the North ;—already it had increased in intensity, and most conspicuous among the secret orders instituted was that denominated “Knights of the Golden Circle,” whose mission it was to destroy and render fruitless the efforts of the administration and the armies in the field to crush the rebellion which embroiled the land in fratricidal strife. They loudly denounced the war as unholy and despicable, an abolition crusade against the rights of the South, a war to overthrow the Constitution, to crush republican institutions, to erect a despotism and perpetuate in power the dominant and tyrannical rule of the Republican or Abolition party. This class of men—the mass of them—were poor, deluded creatures, who through the instrumentality of a few ambitious and designing politicians, aided by their sophistical harangues and *ex parte* presentations, were made to believe that in them rested the destiny of the nation, its future weal or woe. They were made to believe that this war was one of years, if not of decades ; that the South had inexhaustible resources of wealth







*1860*

*John W. Mellor*

and supply; that the European powers—England and France especially—favored the revolution, and only awaited the proper time to declare war against the North in behalf of the South; that if this war which was waged by the administration in power was permitted to continue under the pretence of restoring the authority of the Constitution, it would end in the destruction of the divine institution of slavery, in the subversion of the Constitution, in the arbitrary increase of taxation, in the accumulation of a war debt of billions of dollars, which would require a generation of years to extinguish, and would exhaust all the wealth of the land even in paying the enormous interest;—in a word, that bankruptcy and ruin as a nation and as individuals stared them in the face, and would settle heavily upon them, unless they arose in the dignity and might of men who “knew their rights, and knowing dared maintain” them, and with *one voice* should demand that this unholy war cease at once; that the South be allowed to depart in the way that pleased her best; that our armies be disbanded, and that peace should once more resume her sway. But this party was not yet strong enough to attempt an open rupture with the Government; it therefore contented itself in striving to undermine the cause of the nation by instilling hostile sentiments into the minds of the people, in discouraging enlistments, stimulating resistance to the draft by armed force, in secretly and privately addressing the soldiers in the field, deprecating the action of the Govern-

ment, croaking over a gloomy future, predicting the triumph of the Southern Confederacy and the complete prostration and financial ruin of the North, urging them, if they remained, to evade, if possible, the battle-field, and not to imbrue their hands in a brother's blood, and advising them to desert as soon as possible and come home, asserting that they would be protected by the *people*, who were sick of the war and desired to see it ended.<sup>3</sup>

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3. The following letter, from a copperhead of Indiana to a soldier in the Twenty-ninth Indiana Infantry, is a specimen of what was written to our soldiers in the fall of 1862 and spring of 1863:

NOVEMBER 28, 1862.

MY DEAR FRIEND JERRY:

You ask me to give you my *opinion of this affair*, as you call it (war); and as I have not much to write, I will give you some of my ideas. In one word, it is an abolition war; at least it is looked on as such by the majority of the people here. The elections in the different States will show how the majority of the people look on this war. New York, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all gone *democratic*—some States as high as twenty-five thousand majority! Now see the change since Lincoln's election! These States all voted for old Abe.

Now this is about the idea here: that in less than *one year* the whole North-West will *secede* or go by themselves, for those Eastern Abolitionists are too tyrannical for white men to live with; and if they can succeed in getting the nigger freed they will put him into their manufactories at *low wages or none*, and if they can keep the Southern ports closed, as they have already done, so that we will be bound to run our surplus to the East over their own railroads, at a treble freight, as we have to do now, and take just what they want to give for our pork, our corn, our beef cattle, or anything else that we have to spare, and we have to pay them just three times as much for factory or calicos as we did before they got the nation in the fix it is in now—Southern ports closed against foreign trade, high tariffs, etc., we shall be a ruined people, and the Lord only knows were it will end. Now with all these considerations you may begin to guess how we folks up here look at this thing called *war*. Now the idea here is—and it is talked of in *high places*—that the North-West will eventually go with the South, *and this is well*.

Now, Jerry, I read a letter you wrote. You are saving your money—that is right, very right. Now I guess you are paid off in Lincoln money (United States paper money), and I would advise you not to keep any of that kind of stuff on hand, for our opinion is that as soon as this war begins to close it will not be worth *ten cents on the dollar*; even now some of our best posted farmers won't take it!

Hundreds of letters of this character were addressed to the soldiers in the army as early as in July and August of this year. They had their effect, and doubtless contributed as much as any other cause to demoralize the grand Army of the Ohio; and the subsequent action of this party, its increase in numbers, its audacity in declaring its purpose, not only on the political stump but in the national halls of Congress, brand it as a treasonable clique—a party which, rather than stand up manfully for the Government and aid in crushing its foes, would prefer a dishonorable peace, purchased at the price of the dismemberment of the nation, to a war vigorously prosecuted for the attainment of an honorable and lasting settlement of our unhappy difficulties. Such efforts, however disreputable to our people, and however deeply they may sink their advocates into the damning pit of infamy, are not confined to our land. Every nation and every cause has had its opponents,

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Now we think this war will be bound to close soon, for several reasons. One reason is, there can be no more men got. They are afraid to arm the drafted men that they now have in this State, and the drafted men won't suffer an appointed colonel over them; they ran two off the camp, beating one of them nearly to death, and they say they won't suffer an *appointed* man over them—they will elect their own officers, or they won't have any.

There are lots of niggers passing through here, and some of them are getting very "large." One shot a white man the other day in Terre Haute, wounding him, but not very bad, and the result was that three darkies were killed and several others beaten considerably, and we will come off well if we don't have trouble with them here.

\* \* \* Now my advice to you is, be a good boy; don't gamble any, nor drink any whisky, nor *hurt anybody*, and *the first chance you can get* come home! So no more at present, but I remain

Your best friend,

M. P. CUMMINS.

who could stoop to any mode of attack, however unworthy, to accomplish their most infamous ends. Poland—the once world-famed Poland, the deliverer of Vienna and the champion of christendom—was overthrown and degraded by her treacherous German beneficiaries; Hungary, struggling for freedom and national existence, had her Gorgia; France, when in the throes of a democratic revolution, had her Robespierre, who, exclaiming in the National Assembly that “the people oppressed for ages had a right to the *revenge* of a day,” rallied to his standard of blood the mass of the populace, and under the party names of “Jacobins” and “Cordeliers,” perpetrated deeds of cruelty which ages of repentance in sackcloth and ashes cannot efface from her historic scroll. Our own country, when colonies of Great Britain, and struggling for that independence which we as a people have so long enjoyed, had her traitor, Benedict Arnold, and her banded junto of tories. No cause is too good to escape the maledictions of enemies; no patriot, however lofty his endeavors, but who encounters schemes to thwart all his efforts for good. The cause of Christ—so grand and lofty in its mission, no less than the redemption of a world from sin—had its Judas Iscariot; and even the blissful Garden of Eden, established by the Lord as the home of our then pure race, was the scene of Satan’s entry and insidious plans for the downfall of humanity.

Thus has Good ever encountered Evil—thus has Right ever been assailed by Wrong. But there is a

God in history, and the ways of His providence are discovered in the events of nations. Through all the gloomy surroundings of time, through all the vicissitudes in human affairs, His hand guides all—

“From seeming evil still educing good.”

No patriot and Christian heart can doubt that our cause is in His keeping, and that in His own good time triumph shall crown the national arms.

By the 30th of September the army was consolidated, equipped, and ready for the advance. Bragg's forces were still at Bardstown, Kentucky, and on the 1st of October the army moved out upon the Bardstown, Frankfort and Lebanon turnpikes, with the intention of attacking them. The SECOND DIVISION led the advance upon the Frankfort turnpike, and on this day Colonel E. N. Kirk's brigade led the advance of the division. Skirmishing commenced within five miles of Louisville, and continued at intervals until the command reached Floyd's Fork. Upon the east bank of this stream, which is abrupt and hilly, the enemy's cavalry was posted in considerable force. Their pickets were attacked by a squadron of the Fourth Indiana Cavalry, and forced back upon the main body, where they were held in check until detachments of the Thirty-fourth Illinois and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Infantry came to their relief. The infantry then deployed as skirmishers, and advanced rapidly upon them, and after a few minutes' sharp firing forced them from their position



- Colonel Kirk, commanding the brigade, upon hearing the firing, hastened to the front and ordered dispositions for a continued attack. These were properly made, the rest of the brigade moving up to within close supporting distance. The line advanced and engaged the rebels, steadily pressing them back until at last it became a retreat. The brigade pursued some three miles, and being unable to overtake them or entice them into a stand, Colonel Kirk directed a section of Captain Edgerton's First Ohio Artillery to take position and harass them in their retreat. The distance was about one thousand yards, and the firing was performed with admirable precision. It much accelerated their motion. The cavalry then charged with great spirit and determination, and drove them two miles further, when night coming on, the chase was abandoned and the brigade went into camp. A considerable quantity of small ammunition was left in our hands by the retreat of the rebels.

The division still moved on, passing through Boston, Simpsonville and Shelbyville. At the latter place, one of Kentucky's most beautiful towns, the troops received a cordial welcome from the citizens, who were generous in supplying their wants, and vied with the citizens of Louisville in devotion to our cause. Frequently have they since referred with feelings of emotion to the kindly greetings accorded them by the chivalric and loyal Kentuckians.

On the 3d of October the march was resumed towards Frankfort. Colonel Kirk was directed by

General Sill to advance and make a reconnoissance ten miles to the front, and at once report the result. He accordingly left Shelbyville with his entire brigade, and also four companies of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, under command of Colonel Jacobs. When about three miles from Shelbyville he came up to the enemy's outposts, consisting of small squads of cavalry; but upon his approach they fell back from point to point towards their main body, without offering resistance. The command arrived at Claysville, a small town six miles from Shelbyville, at ten o'clock in the morning, and there Colonel Kirk learned that the rebel force, consisting of Scott's First Georgia and Nixon's First Louisiana Cavalry, and a brigade of North Carolina Infantry with four howitzers, was drawn up in line of battle about two miles from his front. The command was halted for a few moments to fill their canteens, and was then pushed forward—a disposition being made for attack as the column advanced. The cavalry was then ordered to advance and feel the enemy. The Thirty-fourth Illinois was thrown forward in a heavy skirmish line upon the right and left of the turnpike; one half of Edgerton's battery was placed in position on the left of and commanding the turnpike for some distance in front, while the other half was placed in a good position on the right of the road, but a little retired. Three regiments of infantry were then deployed on the right of the road, forming oblique echelons by battalion, which effectually commanded the road and all

neighboring approaches. The fifth regiment was halted and formed in line of battle on the road in the rear.

This disposition was hardly completed before the enemy's cavalry came thundering down on our lines. But a few moments previous Colonel Kirk had observed a small body of rebel cavalry, some fifty in number, about half a mile to his front, apparently in observation, and ordered Colonel Jacobs to dislodge them. Right gallantly he advanced to the task assigned him, but it came near ending disastrously with him. As he dashed down the hill into a ravine in his front, and beyond the support of the skirmishers, a heavy detachment of rebels, concealed in the ravine to the left of the road, dashed upon him on the flank and rear. A lively contest now ensued, which lasted several minutes; but Jacobs, with that remarkable coolness and presence of mind which have characterized him on other fields, extricated his small force from their perilous position, and retired to the skirmish line in most excellent order. Colonel Kirk then ordered his artillery and skirmishers to engage the enemy, who still bore down upon him, and were now within effective range. The fire opened with energy and precision; but despite the steady roll of musketry and the hurling of shell, they advanced as if determined not only to make a desperate stand, but to force our line from its position. But determination on their part only tended to increase the spirit of resistance on the part of Colonel Kirk's command,

and their fire increased in rapidity as they advanced. For a time, nothing daunted, the rebels pushed on until they nearly closed upon the Thirty-fourth Illinois, which was formed in close skirmish line. A considerable portion of our line then concentrated its fire upon them. For a moment they manfully stood their ground, and fought with commendable bravery; but they could not long withstand the steady fire of our troops. First their line wavered, then it gradually fell back; but soon after, under the dreadful fire of shell which Edgerton still threw among them, they fled in the wildest confusion. Jacobs' cavalry now engaged in the pursuit, and pushed them upwards of two miles. Colonel Kirk and his command were anxious to force the enemy still further, but his instructions only allowed him to advance to Claysville and to reconnoître a short distance beyond. Having marched to Claysville and driven the enemy four miles from that point, it was clear that to proceed further would be in violation of orders, the pursuit was therefore abandoned.

The enemy evidently overestimated Colonel Kirk's strength, for they continued their flight through Hardinsville to Frankfort, and by their exaggerated reports of their defeat hastened the evacuation of that place. They admitted their loss to be forty-two. Citizens at Hardensville stated that they buried seven, and their wounded numbered nineteen. Colonel Kirk buried but one, while he captured two lieutenants, one color sergeant and thirteen privates,

making sixteen in all. The honor of this capture rests chiefly with the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania. This corresponds with the rebel admission of loss—an occurrence which rarely happens. Colonel Kirk's loss, including Jacobs' cavalry, was three wounded. This was a splendid little affair, and produced a good moral effect upon the troops engaged. It convinced them that they were once more moving upon the enemy in earnest, and stimulated them to greater exertions.

On the 5th of October a slight change was made in the brigade organizations. The Seventy-ninth Illinois Infantry was relieved from assignment to the fourth and attached to the fifth brigade, and the Ninety-third Ohio Infantry was relieved from assignment to the fifth and attached to the fourth brigade. On the same day it was ascertained that Bragg's army had retired from Bardstown, with the intention of uniting with the forces of E. Kirby Smith, who was reported to be near Salvisa, on the Kentucky river. Harrodsburg or Perryville then became the most probable point of concentration, and the destination of the army was changed to meet this new development. Generals McCook's and Gilbert's corps moved into position near Perryville on the night of the 7th and the morning of the 8th; and here, on this latter day, was fought the battle of Chaplin Hills. The SECOND DIVISION was ordered to proceed to Frankfort, which it did, the enemy in small force constantly falling back upon that city. On the eve-





*W. H. Gibson*

COL. W. H. GIBSON.

ning of the 6th of October it encamped on the west bank of the Kentucky river, opposite Frankfort. Here there was a delay. The enemy had fled upon the approach of General Sill, destroying the railroad bridge and removing the flooring from the turnpike bridge. A pontoon must therefore be constructed before the troops could cross to the town. This was completed on the 7th of October, and the division moved into Frankfort and out on the Georgetown turnpike. On the 6th it was expected that Kirby Smith's forces would pass through Frankfort, to reinforce Bragg's army, which lay in line of battle at or near Perryville. This reconnoissance developed no force of the enemy, however, but gained information to the effect that Kirby Smith, whose forces had been posted along the Kentucky river, had left his headquarters at Lexington and crossed the river in force at Salvisa. The division thereupon recrossed the river at Frankfort on the evening of the 7th, and marched towards Lawrenceburg. The sixth brigade led the advance on the 8th, and arrived at Lawrenceburg at nine o'clock in the morning. Here it was discovered that the enemy's cavalry were hovering around, and Colonel W. H. Gibson,<sup>4</sup> commanding the brigade, apprehending annoyance, prepared to give them a warm reception. Accordingly, he ordered four

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4. Upon or soon after leaving Louisville Colonel Gibson assumed command of the brigade, General Willich being compelled to leave the field on account of sickness. Colonel Gibson appears to have retained command until the 16th of November ensuing.




companies of the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry deployed as skirmishers in front, and a section of Goodspeed's battery unlimbered. But at this demonstration the enemy fled, and the column moved on, passing through and encamping half a mile south of the town. Here the brigade was halted to rest. An hour after, as the command was resuming the march, the enemy's cavalry again made a demonstration on Colonel Gibson's right, left and centre. He immediately ordered the Fifteenth Ohio into line on the right, and the Forty-ninth Ohio in line on the left; the Thirty-second and Thirty-ninth Indiana and the Eighty-ninth Illinois were placed in position as reserve. The section of Goodspeed's battery already unlimbered was placed in position and opened with shell. The artillery fire drove them from the open fields in front with great precipitancy; but a portion of them rallied under cover of a ravine in the road over which the brigade must advance. Again Colonel Jacobs, as at Claysville, gallantly charged the enemy with a portion of his cavalry, and being encountered by greatly superior numbers instantly became hotly engaged. Colonel Jacobs was severely wounded, and the cavalry withdrew, pressed by the enemy. Then the Fifteenth Ohio moved to the attack, and poured in a steady and effective fire. The section of artillery also opened, and the enemy fled to the woods. It was afterwards ascertained that he was in heavy force near by; but owing to Colonel Gibson's judicious disposition of his men, and the

strength of the position he so quickly and admirably selected, they did not deem it prudent to renew the attack. The brigade sustained no loss in this very sprightly affair. Meantime the other brigades of the division had come up, and soon afterwards the column moved on to Salt river and encamped near an insignificant hamlet, *classically* called "Dog Walk!" and here was the scene of another affair.

On the morning of the 9th of October Colonel Kirk's brigade led the advance, and moved at seven o'clock on the road to Johnsonsville and Maxville. At eight o'clock, as the fourth brigade was moving out, an attack was made upon the pickets in rear of the camp and near the supply train which accompanied the division. General Sill at once directed the Nineteenth United States Infantry to move to the support of the pickets at the threatened point. He then directed Colonel Edward A. Parrott, of the First Ohio, commanding the fourth brigade, to march his command back on the Lawrenceburg road, to the support of the Nineteenth. He soon came up with the advance troops. The Fifteenth United States Infantry, Major John H. King, was formed in line in an open field, to command the road; the Nineteenth Infantry, Major S. D. Carpenter, was formed in line to his left and in the road, which at that point makes an abrupt turn. The First Ohio was posted behind the crest of a ridge, in a skirt of timber to the rear of the open ground. This last formation made, the Fifteenth and Nineteenth fell back across the open

field, and formed to the right and in prolongation of the line of the First Ohio. Meantime a section of Lieutenant Guenther's regular battery came dashing up and reported for action. Its arrival was opportune, for at that moment the enemy was observed marching by the flank up the road near where the Fifteenth was first posted. Lieutenant Guenther immediately unlimbered one of his pieces, and opened with such effect that the enemy became disorganized and retreated under cover of the hill. But he was not inclined to quit the contest. He now advanced a strong line of skirmishers, to oppose which Colonel Parrott ordered a company to be deployed from each battalion of the regulars, also companies B and C of the First Ohio. These detachments speedily became engaged, and the firing was steady and spirited. But the line maintained its position tenaciously. Guenther's artillery controlled effectively the centre of the line and the Lawrenceburg road. Thus the enemy was foiled in any attempt to break the centre; he therefore resolved to force and turn the left. He steadily advanced upon the left front and flank of the First Ohio detachment. These brave men fought gallantly, but being assailed by greatly superior numbers, were flung back from the hill on which they were posted. The repulse was temporary, however; for being reinforced, they rapidly advanced, and pouring forth a murderous fire, hurled the enemy back to the foot of the hill, and here the contest was waged steadily and unceasingly. At this juncture




Colonel Gibson was ordered to the assistance of Colonel Parrott with his command. The Forty-ninth Ohio Infantry, the advance, reported to Colonel Parrott, and was ordered into position on the right, his line deflecting at nearly right-angles with the line of the Fifteenth Infantry, his front and right flank covered with skirmishers. Colonel Gibson being the ranking officer present, the command now devolved upon him. He at once ordered the Thirty-second Indiana to occupy the ridge to the left of the First Ohio with skirmishers well in front and flank. The Eighty-ninth Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Hotchkiss, was placed in a commanding position covering the Frankfort road, its left flank resting on the bank of Salt river. The Fifteenth Ohio, Colonel Dickey, was in column in reserve, and held as a support to Guenther's and Goodspeed's artillery, with the exception of one company, which was detached for a time to occupy a knob intervening between the right of the Eighty-ninth Illinois and the left of the Thirty-second Indiana. The Thirty-ninth Indiana was in position on the extreme right, to thwart any attempt upon the train or the column in that direction. The Thirty-second Indiana was the only regiment engaged in the sixth brigade. Its skirmishers, companies A and K, under the command of Lieutenants Metzner and Stawitz, vied in determination and bravery with their comrades in the fourth brigade. Again and again the enemy sought to dislodge the advanced skirmishers, but each effort was futile. Finally, after a steady

assault of nearly four hours he abandoned the field. Altogether it was a handsome affair, and reflected great credit upon the brigades engaged. The position selected was admirable, and the resistance of our men was worthy of all praise. A less prudent commander or less heroic men would doubtless have suffered discomfiture and the loss of the large wagon train. Our loss in this affair was seven killed and twelve wounded. Captain Thruston and Lieutenant Kuhlman, of the First Ohio, and Lieutenants Metzner and Stawitz, of the Thirty-second Indiana, and their men, are entitled to commendation, as they bore heroically the brunt of the attack. The enemy was a portion of E. Kirby Smith's forces, and was about four thousand strong, consisting of one regiment of cavalry and six of infantry, with two howitzers. The loss of the enemy, according to the citizens in the neighborhood, was about one hundred in killed and wounded—the shells from our batteries having in two or three instances burst in his columns. Eleven of his dead and two mortally wounded were found upon the field, and several other bodies were seen while being carried off the field. This affair was conducted strictly on the defensive, the object being to save the train ; nor indeed was it advisable, while so far from the main force, to provoke a general engagement with Smith's forces, which were known to be either in the immediate vicinity or within an easy march. The fight having ended, the fourth brigade moved in column towards Maxville, the train and

artillery followed, and the sixth brigade brought up the rear. Nothing further transpired to interrupt the march.

When in September the army left Bowling Green, moving northward, there remained behind some seventeen hundred wagons, containing the extra baggage. This immense train, after waiting some two weeks for orders, finally proceeded to Louisville, moving a considerable distance westward of the pike, and arrived at that city on the 4th day of October. Here the baggage was stored and the wagons formed into supply trains, to furnish the army then advancing on the enemy. Many of the quartermasters were placed in charge of sections of these trains. Others, quartermasters in the SECOND DIVISION, having made application for permission for each to take a team, containing his office desk, papers, and personal baggage, and proceed to join the command then at Frankfort, and their requests being granted, they started about noon on the 7th. Next day, at noon, they passed General Dumont's division on its way to Frankfort, and learned from him that General Sill had left Frankfort that morning, moving towards Lawrenceburg. Having proceeded some distance, and hearing that quite a rebel force had been seen that day in the direction they were going, Lieutenant P. P. Bailey, quartermaster of the Thirtieth Indiana, sent back word to General Dumont's command of the existing danger, and asked for an escort. Word was returned, that General Dumont had been informed of

the matter, and that an escort would doubtless be furnished. Captain T. C. Bowles, assistant quartermaster, then came up and took charge of the train, halting it soon afterwards, to await the arrival of the escort. After a time General Dumont's forces passed by, but no guard was offered, nor did any one know why. Having passed, the train pushed on for Lawrenceburg, unguarded, hoping to join the division at that point. They arrived at nine o'clock that night, and were informed that General Sill passed through in the forenoon, had a fight with the rebels, whom he repulsed, and then marched towards Salt river. The train followed, until about ten o'clock, finding they were near the river, though not yet in sight of the troops, they halted for the night, parking in an open field well surrounded with woods. The whole force consisted of nine quartermasters and quartermasters' sergeants, one major, two line officers and forty-three convalescent guards. At daylight next morning, and before they were up, they were fired upon by an unseen enemy from the woods in their rear. As they could see no enemy it was considered as coming from a few rebel scouts hovering near by, and therefore time was taken to hitch their teams. This accomplished they resumed their march, the convalescent guard being disposed by Major Bradford, of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, in such a manner as to protect the rear of the train. Soon after, upon entering a piece of woods, the train was fired on from the left. A portion of the guard was then organ-




ized under Captain McClellan, of the Thirty-ninth Indiana, who deployed out into the woods, defending it from attack as it moved along. It soon came to Salt river, passing through a narrow covered bridge amidst a shower of bullets. Meantime the skirmishers, under Major Bradford, Captain McClellan, and another line officer, were hotly engaged, and one—Louis Ballin, a private of the Thirtieth Indiana, and a brave little fellow—was brought in very severely wounded. The train proceeded on up the hill, but when half way to the summit it was halted. Upon another hill some distance beyond, and to their front and left, was a large force drawn up in line of battle. This force consisted of infantry, cavalry and artillery, and at first it was thought to be General Sill's command, as a great many were dressed in blue, though interspersed with the blue was much gray, and it was difficult to know what force confronted them. Soon the Confederate banner flaunted its folds full in the breeze, and the inquiry was settled. Another question arose—What was to be done? The disparity of numbers did not admit of resistance. Lieutenant J. E. Cassell, quartermaster of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, suggested that a line officer be sent out with a flag of truce and make a surrender. Captain Bowles replied that the line officers were in charge of the skirmishers. "Then," said Cassell, "send Quartermaster Bailey, as the oldest man present." "Will you go?" asked Bowles. "Yes," responded Bailey; "but give me some one to carry the flag of



truce." "I will carry the flag," said Sergeant Chapin of the Thirty-ninth Indiana.

At this juncture Sergeant Crawford, of the Forty ninth Ohio, dashed up at a furious rate, with the pleasing intelligence that Major Bradford, with a part of his skirmishers had been captured, and that the enemy was moving up the road in their rear. This necessitated expedition in the matter of surrender. "What shall I say?" remarked Bailey, addressing Bowles. Bowles, whose beard had grown until it reached well down his chest, stroked it for a moment with his hand, and in a slow, measured tone of voice replied, "Tell them they are a little too many for us, and we'll give up."


The flag of truce departed on its mission. Soon another large infantry force was seen, and the party was halted. As the rebel officers advanced to receive the flag, a little time was afforded Bailey for reflection. He could not help asking himself—why all this preparation of the enemy to capture so small a force? His conclusion was that the enemy had been deceived as to the Federal numbers, and most probably thought he was surrounding General Sill's division, which in fact could not be far ahead. Bailey, resting in this belief, concluded to keep up the deception until he made terms of surrender, as the little train could not yet be seen, for it was still under cover of the woods, on the hill near the bridge. In the meantime Bailey had buttoned up his overcoat, that his rank might not be known, and upon the



arrival of the rebel officer salutes were exchanged. Bailey, who is a man of very dignified appearance, then said, with all the dignity of his nature, "Sir, I perceive by your uniform that you are a Confederate officer." "Yes, sir," was the reply. "And those are your troops?" continued Bailey, pointing in the direction whence the officer had come. "Yes, sir," was again the reply. "Well then, sir," said Bailey, "whose are the men in blue coats, drawn up in line of battle yonder on our left?" "They are ours, too, sir," was the answer. "They yours, too!—what! the blue coats!" "Yes, sir," said the rebel officer. "Well, sir," said Bailey, "those men have deceived us. We have been skirmishing with your men for some time past, have killed and wounded some of them, and you have wounded some of ours, and we have finally come out to hold a parley." "I shall be obliged to report to General Cheetham for orders," said the officer. "Very well, sir," said Bailey; and the officer dashed off to headquarters.

In a short time he returned, accompanied by General Cheetham, when the same questions were propounded to the general that had been asked of his subordinate, and similar replies received. Just then the rebels resumed their firing in the rear of the train, when Bailey remarked, "Sir, your men are fighting us now, while we are out with a flag of truce." The general asked if there was a flag out in the rear, and sent his officer to have the firing checked. Bailey knew that now time was precious, for on the return

of the officer his actual strength would be known and the opportunity for making terms would be lost. He then said, "Well, general, we have come out to hold a parley." "What have you to say?" said General Cheetham. "I have to say," replied Bailey, "that seeing you outnumber us, and in order to save the shedding of more blood, if we can make proper terms we will surrender." General Cheetham was very gracious, bowed very low, and inquired what were the terms he wished to make. Bailey replied that the terms were very simple and could easily be complied with. Said he, "We have a number of quartermasters with us, who have their papers with them, containing their accounts with the Government, and if these officers can be allowed to retain their papers, and if private property will be respected, we will surrender." General Cheetham smilingly responded that Major General Withers was on the ground, and that before he could make terms he would be obliged to report to him; and dashing off on a gallop, he suddenly halted, turned back, and said, "What shall I tell General Withers is the strength of the force you propose to surrender?" "Oh!" said Bailey, as if that was a piece of information he too had entirely forgotten, "you may say to Major General Withers that our force consists of nine quartermasters, with nine wagons and forty-three convalescent guards!" At this General Cheetham knit his brow, his countenance became black as a thunder-cloud, while, raising himself in his stirrups, he exclaimed in a voice of



anger, "You are in no condition to dictate terms, sir!" "Well, sir, I do not know about that—I do not know about surrendering, sir, if we do not make terms," retorted Bailey, with as much dignity as he could command. General Cheetham saw that he was duped; and then, in quite a bland voice, he said, "Very well, sir; I will report to General Withers." Saying this he rode off across the field.

He was soon met by an old gentleman dressed in blue jeans, with no insignia of office about him, and a conversation ensued which lasted for some minutes, when General Cheetham galloped back, and saluting Bailey, he said in a tone full of humor, as if he was convulsed at the ridiculousness of his mission, "Sir, Major General Withers instructs me to say to you that he accepts your surrender on the conditions named, but regrets there is not a greater number of you!" The train was then brought up into the field, where, in presence of Major General Withers, Bailey reported the terms of capitulation, and heard General Withers give directions to an officer to see that the conditions were strictly carried out, after an examination had been made of the effects. Bailey secured the most of his papers, but the other quartermasters lost theirs, owing to the want of transportation and the difficulty of finding them after examination. The men were then paroled and allowed to depart towards Louisville.

It was ascertained during the day they were with the rebels that the force engaged in their capture

numbered some fifteen thousand men, belonging to E. Kirby Smith's command, who had been ordered to intercept General Sill, and who had discovered their camp about four o'clock that morning, and supposing it to be General Sill's whole command, had so arranged their men as most completely to surround them, as has already been described. When these rebels had completed the formalities of the surrender of the quartermasters it was nine o'clock in the morning. They then resumed their march after General Sill, who had been encamped only three miles in their advance but who had during the delay defeated at Dog Walk the advance rebel brigade and resumed his march, thus making good his escape. The capture of the SECOND DIVISION, which did not exceed six thousand in number, unless extraordinary fighting had been displayed, was undoubtedly prevented by the "nine quartermasters with their nine wagons, three officers and forty-three convalescent guards."

The SECOND DIVISION rejoined the main army at Maxville on the 11th of October. Upon reaching here Colonel Von Trebra was taken sick, and started for Louisville.<sup>5</sup> General McCook's corps lay near

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5. Colonel Henry Von Trebra was born in Niedor Gorge, near Siejan, Silesia, Prussia, on the 28th of September, 1830. He attended the Gymnasium in Luben until 1841. From there he went to the military school at Potsdam, near Berlin, where he remained until 1845, and thence to the Military Academy at Berlin. In 1847 he was promoted first lieutenant, and joined the Twelfth Infantry. He was with this regiment through the Polish campaign of 1848, and remained in the Prussian service until 1854. He then resigned and came to the United States. Deeply imbued with the ideas of freedom and free government, he could not restrain his ardor to vindicate the cause of his adopted country in its herculean ef-

Dicksville, whence a road led to Harrodsburg. General Crittenden's corps lay near Danville. Upon the repulse of Bragg's forces at Chaplin Hills he pushed them north to Harrodsburg, apparently to occupy a stronger position and again contest General Buell's forces; but after making a demonstration, as if preparing to attack our forces, he retired to Camp Dick Robinson, at the junction of Dick's and the Kentucky rivers. Heavy reconnoissances were made, to ascertain whether all the rebel forces had crossed this

forts to suppress a rebellion, causeless, and unholy in its object, and on 24th of July, 1861, he joined the Thirty-second Indiana Regiment (German), was elected lieutenant colonel, and on the 17th of December, 1861, fought the battle of Rowlett's Station, commonly termed Munfordsville, and in that action displayed admirable military capacity. He served with the command in the battle of Shiloh, the siege of Corinth, the famous Alabama and Kentucky campaigns. On the 18th of July he was commissioned colonel of the regiment, Colonel August Willich, its former commander, having been promoted brigadier general. After the departure of our army on the 1st of October, 1862, from Louisville, Kentucky, in pursuit of Bragg's army, serious indisposition compelled him to ask for a short leave of absence, which being granted, he repaired to his home in Arcola, Illinois, from whence he never returned. After a long and painful illness he died on the 6th of August, 1863, and was buried in his adopted Prairie State.

As a soldier, Colonel Von Trebra was ever gallant; as a commander, skillful, prudent and zealous; as a man and a citizen, honest, upright and jealous of the interests of the commonwealth.

He left the farmer's field of honest toil, at his country's call, raised the sword in its defence, and died a hero in its service, though not on the ensanguined field. There he had defiantly encountered death, but he had not accepted the sacrifice. He chose to take him from amid peaceful bowers and the kind endearments of home, and kindred, and friends. Hero, fare thee well! Thy comrades in arms tearfully will plant the evergreen o'er thy grave.

"We are scatter'd—we are scatter'd  
Yet may we meet again  
In a brighter, and a purer sphere,  
Beyond the reach of pain.  
Where the shadows of this lower world  
Can never cloud the eye—  
When the mortal hath put brightly on  
Its immortality!"

river, and it was proved they had; but it was yet unknown whether the enemy intended to offer battle at his new position. On the 12th of October the different columns were set in motion, with the evident intention of turning his position at Camp Dick Robinson, which was a strong one, and compelling him to accept battle on less favorable ground. On the night of the 13th of October it was ascertained beyond a doubt that Bragg was evacuating his stronghold and retreating southward. General Buell at once ordered a pursuit. The corps of Generals Crittenden and McCook, including the SECOND DIVISION, pursued by way of Stanford and Crab Orchard, and General Gilbert's corps by the way of Lancaster and Crab Orchard. The enemy's rear guard was soon overtaken, and was sharply pressed until reaching London. Having arrived at Crab Orchard, and the pursuit being now abandoned, the division rested for four days on Logan's Creek, near Hall's Gap.

The rebel army had made good its escape. After a long and weary march, endured for the permanent occupation of Kentucky—after one sanguinary battle and a repulse, Bragg distrusted his own success, was fearful of his own safety, and abandoning all his lofty resolves for conquest and the subjugation of the North, retreated through Cumberland Gap to Middle Tennessee.

It would have been well to have first ascertained whether they could hold any considerable portion of Kentucky soil before proceeding to establish civil

offices; and probably had this invasion been intended only as a gigantic raid, such would have been the case: but the secession element of the State expected the rebel occupation to be permanent—indeed they were assured that such was the intention of the rebel commander. Bragg omitted the grand essential of success in his plan when at Munfordsville, as his forces were between our army and the Ohio river, that he did not attack us. Had he defeated General Buell then, his success for a time at least would have been insured. Had he been defeated, he still had open to him the means of retreat. He neglected to strike at the opportune moment, and from that point final victory clearly rested with our arms.

General Buell again ordered an advance. It was essential that our forces occupy Bowling Green, Nashville and Murfreesboro in advance of Bragg, or the safety of the garrison at Nashville would be jeopardized and Middle Tennessee again be overrun with the rebel hosts; the division therefore countermarched, once more passing through Stanford, Danville and Perryville. Thence it proceeded towards Lebanon, diverging from the turnpike some twelve miles from that town, passing through the village of Bradfordville, and bivouacking for the night on the bank of the North Rolling Fork. This particular section of Kentucky is rough, rocky, unproductive and desolate in appearance, and yet it maintained a considerable population. Its people, too, appeared almost universally to be loyal. Bradfordville, a place of strong



Union sentiment, had been destroyed by some rebel band. Naught remained of it but charred timbers and blackened chimneys. Rebel madness doomed it to destruction because the people cherished the Government of their fathers. Its ruins are the noblest monument to the devotion of its inhabitants. On the 24th of October the division crossed the Rolling Fork, passing through New Market and to the vicinity of Saloma. Here, for the first time since leaving Battle Creek, on the 20th of August, the army trains joined the troops. All were rejoiced. Fortune indeed smiled upon the brave. For more than two months they had been without shelter or any of the comforts of a camp; but now they were blessed with the sight of their tents and camp equipage. Never did they come more propitiously. The next day there was a heavy fall of snow, and the weather became intensely cold. It was the first severe symptom of approaching winter. The march was now steadily southward. On the 27th of October the division left its camp near Saloma, crossed Green river at the "Burnt Bridge," several miles above Munfordsville, and on the 31st of October arrived at Bowling Green. Here the first battalion of the Fifteenth Infantry was detached from the division as guard to General Rosecrans, and here the soldiers learned that important changes had been made in their department.

On the 24th of October the War Department issued the following order :

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
 ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
 WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 24, 1861.

[*General Orders No. 168.*]

1. By direction of the President, the State of Tennessee, east of the Tennessee river, and such parts of Northern Alabama and Georgia as may be taken possession of by United States troops, will constitute the Department of the Cumberland.

II. Major General W. S. Rosecrans is assigned to the command of the Department of the Cumberland.

III. The troops under the command of Major General Grant will constitute the Thirteenth Army Corps; and those assigned to the command of Major General Rosecrans will constitute the Fourteenth Army Corps.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant General.

In obedience to orders from the General-in-Chief, General Buell, on the 30th of October, turned over the command of the army to General Rosecrans. On that occasion he addressed this farewell order to his troops:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE OHIO, }  
 LOUISVILLE, OCTOBER 30, 1862.

[*General Orders, No. 150.*]

In obedience to orders from the Headquarters of the Army, Major General Buell relinquishes the command of the District and Army of the Ohio to Major General W. S. Rosecrans.

It is impossible for the General without feelings of regard and a warm interest in their future success, to part with troops whom he has been the instrument of converting for the most part from raw levies into a powerful army, honored by common consent for its discipline and efficient organization, for its *esprit de corps*, and for victories unequal-

ified by a single reverse; and whose fortunes he has followed for a twelvemonth over a field of operations embracing considerable portions of four States, through difficulties and dangers which its fortitude and courage have mastered without accident or failure. It has recently by a rapid march of some five hundred miles with limited subsistence, often with an inadequate supply of water, returned to Kentucky and driven from her borders a powerful army; and having re-established its communications, is now well on its way to meet the enemy at other points. The occasion is not convenient for recounting its services during the past twelve months, but the army may safely recur to them with pride. If any thing has not been accomplished which was practicable within the sphere of its duty, the General cheerfully holds himself responsible for the failure.

- The General reflects with pride that the Army under his command has for the most part been free from petty jealousies and intrigue—that it has neither indulged in vain boasting, nor tarnished its high character by bickerings and low criminations. It will enhance his gratification if it shall carry to its new commander—who already has earned its confidence and respect by distinguished service—the same noble qualities which have characterized it since its organization. He will pray that it may be the instrument of speedily restoring the Union to its integrity; and there is no individual in its ranks in whose honor and welfare he will not feel a special interest.

By command of Major General Buell.

JAMES B. FREY, Colonel and Chief of Staff.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE MARCH TO NASHVILLE—ANOTHER ORGANIZATION  
OF THE ARMY—AFFAIR AT LA VERGNE—AFFAIR  
AT ANTIOCH CHURCH—CHANGE IN COMMANDERS—  
OTHER CHANGES—THE NEW YEAR—BIOGRAPHY OF  
GENERAL SILL.

THE change in commanders caused no delay at Bowling Green. The army moved to Nashville, General McCook's command in the advance, and reached that city on the 7th of November. It was necessary, however, to protect the Louisville and Nashville railroad, the single thread of communication between our army and the Ohio, and now badly damaged by the raids made upon it while our army was in Kentucky; therefore, commands were temporarily detained at Bowling Green, Mitchellville, Tyree Springs, Gallatin, and other points along both the railroad and turnpike roads. The railroad had been speedily repaired from Louisville to Mitchellville, and supplies were brought to this point for the army. From Mitchellville to Nashville, a distance

of nearly forty miles, all supplies must be hauled in wagons until the railroad could be placed in running order, which would require at least one month. The route to Nashville was a wild, mountainous country, and infested with guerrillas, who were on the alert to spring upon and capture an unguarded train or a squad of soldiers inferior to them in numbers. While on the downward march the Eighty-ninth Illinois Infantry, of the sixth brigade, was left at Tyree Springs, to aid in protecting the line of communication. It remained upon this duty some two weeks, when it was ordered to rejoin the division, which it did on the 19th of November.

The division remained encamped at Edgefield, opposite Nashville, until the 16th of November, when it moved six miles out on the Murfreesboro turnpike, and established camp near the grounds of the Insane Asylum.

On the 7th of November Major General Rosecrans issued the following orders for the reorganization of the army :

HEADQUARTERS FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }  
DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND. }  
BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY, NOVEMBER 7, 1862. }

[ *General Orders No. 8.* ]

1. Major General George H. Thomas is assigned to the command of the centre of this army, consisting of the divisions of Rousseau, Negley, Dumont, Fry and Palmer. The divisions of Generals Negley and Palmer will be for the present regarded as temporarily detached.

II. Major General McCook will command the right wing—Major General Crittenden the left. Their commands will be so designated.

By command of Major General Rosecrans.

ARTHUR C. DUCAT,  
Lieutenant Colonel and Acting Chief of Staff.

The divisions composing the right and left wings were not announced in this order ; but the command of General McCook consisted of the SECOND DIVISION, General J. W. Sill, the ninth division, General Jefferson C. Davis, and the eleventh division, General P. H. Sheridan.

It soon became evident that General Rosecrans did not intend to advance directly upon Murfreesboro, and hold that as the important position of Middle Tennessee—an opinion entertained by General Buell, who was pushing his forces for that point when relieved in command. His aim had been to occupy Murfreesboro in advance of Bragg, and thereby compel him to fall back to his original position at Chattanooga and along the line of the Tennessee—an object which would doubtless have been consummated had General Rosecrans moved to the same point. It is probable that the reduced condition of the army, the length of his line of communication, and the difficulties involved in the necessary transportation of supplies by wagon trains, determined him, for a time at least, to remain at Nashville. Again : the situation of the rebel forces was not clearly defined. Bragg had the advantage of a powerful cavalry arm,

which was ever on our front and vigilant, and behind this cover the rebel commander manœuvred his troops and perfected his plans. The general opinion prevailed that Bragg would front along the Tennessee, and await the development of Rosecrans' plans, while others believed he would repair the railroad bridge across the Tennessee, at Bridgeport, which had been destroyed by Mitchell, and maintain a front at Murfreesboro. Information of a positive character was soon obtained, however, and the army settled into the quietude of camp.

The front of our army was rapidly formed. General McCook's command covered the Murfreesboro turnpike, and extending to the right, covered the Nolinsville road. Soon afterwards General Crittenden's command arrived. General McCook's line was then formed more to the right, extending towards the Franklin turnpike. Crittenden's right rested upon McCook's left, near the Murfreesboro turnpike, his left extending to Stone river. Shortly the divisions of Generals Rousseau and Negley, of the centre, moved to the front, and joining General McCook's right, covered the Franklin turnpike and stretched along towards the Cumberland river. A small stream called Mill Creek, with abrupt banks and lined with a thick growth of bushes and canebrake, ran across the entire front, and constituted a strong natural fosse or intrenchment. While encamped in front of Nashville the Federal lines were frequently assailed by the rebel cavalry, who boldly dashed up, discharged

a volley, and then fled;—they never prolonged a contest.

Several reconnoissances were made while encamped here, to develop, if possible, the enemy's strength and position. Among them was one made by Kirk's brigade on the 19th of November, and one by Buckley's brigade about the same time; but owing to limited instructions they failed to elicit the required information. On the 27th of November it was determined to make a general reconnoissance along the front. The brigade of General Kirk<sup>1</sup> was selected to reconnoitre the country bordering the Murfreesboro turnpike. It moved out precisely at sunrise, and came upon the enemy's outposts (cavalry) at a little village called Scrowgeville, four miles south of our lines. After exchanging a few shots the rebels fell back. The cavalry posts, both right and left, also fell back and concentrated their strength at a church some three-quarters of a mile south of the village. Kirk soon advanced on them, when a brisk engagement ensued, in which Lieutenant Colonel Hurd, of the Thirtieth Indiana, was wounded, while bravely leading his men. The regiment, however, Colonel Dodge commanding, soon drove the enemy from their position. They retired slowly, halting at intervals, but moving on as our troops advanced, until they came to their artillery, posted on a hill beyond the

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1. Colonel E. N. Kirk was promoted brigadier general on the 29th of November, 1862.



town of La Vergne. Kirk now sent forward a heavy line of skirmishers and moved rapidly towards the town. As our line approached the place their artillery opened a terrible and well-directed fire, principally throwing shells. The first shell burst directly over Colonel Kirk's head. The second burst between him and his aides. Others fell around them, bursting and tearing up the ground, but doing them no damage.

Kirk at once directed Captain Edgerton to place his battery in position, and commence firing, which he did with commendable quickness. His fire was rapid and remarkably accurate, the shells bursting to all appearance closely around them. The rebel battery, however, had a decided advantage in position. It was placed upon the spine of the hill, and effectually commanded the centre front. Kirk's command was in the valley north of the village. They would fire their cannon, and the rebound would throw them below the crest of the hill, where they were again loaded with almost perfect safety. Our shells, in order to be effectual, must strike exactly in their line. If they struck on this side the crest, or upon it, they *ricochetted* and passed over.

Kirk soon perceived that, with this very decided advantage on their side, it would be almost impossible to dislodge them from the front ; he therefore directed the Twenty-ninth Indiana, Major J. P. Collins, and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel P. B. Housam, to move to the left and forward until they

arrived at a right-angle with the battery, and there take a position screened from the enemy's sight by a heavy belt of timber, with a view of charging the battery on that flank. The regiments now moved forward on the double-quick, and the enemy's line of skirmishers hastily fell back. We pressed them hard ; but they anticipated a movement of that kind, and received timely warning : therefore, as soon as the line of skirmishers came in sight, they turned the battery against them. Now for a few moments the contest was spirited. The cannonading was heavy ; shells burst in the air and in the ranks, but our troops moved steadily on. The rebels soon discovered the nature of our expedition and the determination manifested in it, so they hurriedly limbered up and retired upon their reserves.

In a few minutes our men occupied the ground the rebels had left. There was ample evidence that our fire had done damage, as blood stained the earth in many places, but none of their wounded were seen. Here the reserve moved up, and were directed to occupy this position, while our advance again pursued the retreating rebels. Pursuit was made another mile, when the brigade was ordered to retire, which it did in good order, the rear well protected, and reached camp about four o'clock in the afternoon. Our loss was twelve wounded—none killed. Three prisoners were taken, belonging to General Wheeler's brigade. They stated that he commanded in person, and was wounded in the thigh ; but they did not

know the extent of their loss. At the time Kirk ceased pursuit two rebel brigades of infantry were rapidly moving upon him. Several storehouses in La Vergne were burned. The prisoners taken stated also that at Stone river there was quite a large body of troops.

This reconnoissance developed the following facts: that Bragg was the commander-in-chief of the rebel forces; that Hardee, Polk and Smith were the corps commanders, and that their army was computed at sixty thousand strong—all of which subsequently proved true. It further showed that there was no force this side of La Vergne; that the force at La Vergne proper was inconsiderable—not sufficient to make an extensive attack upon our lines; that forage trains could go to the front in safety with one or two regiments for guard; that the enemy had no fortifications or intrenchments at La Vergne, and therefore that they did not design making any stand this side of Stone river, near Murfreesboro.

On the 6th of December there was another short and spirited affair, in which the Ninety-third Ohio Infantry had an opportunity to display its fighting mettle. The fourth brigade, Colonel H. M. Buckley commanding, was out on a reconnoissance, and was accompanied by the forage train of the division. Early in the afternoon Colonel Anderson, of the Ninety-third Ohio, was directed to remain with and defend the train. He accordingly halted his command, and waited for the train to move to the top of

a hill beyond him, a little to the west of the Franklin and Lebanon road, and near to a little building styled Antioch Church. While the train was moving to the point indicated, Colonel Anderson observed a number of the enemy on foot, led by three horsemen, moving rapidly down a valley which lay north of his position, and between him and the camp. They shouted vociferously, and it was apparent they were aiming to obtain command of the road in his rear, and attempt to capture the train on its return home, at the bend of the road as it enters the valley. The Ninety-third saw the movement, and hailed the feat that awaited them with repeated cheers. The column was in motion in an instant, and on the double-quick they dashed over fences, through gaps and gates, down the slope of the hill upon the eastern side of the road, which was still filled with our wagons, and succeeded in reaching the supposed point of attack in advance of the enemy, but not until the enemy had deployed on highly favorable ground for shelter and attack. Colonel Anderson sought to bring his command under cover of a fence which ran along side the road; but firing immediately commenced, and the position was attained with difficulty. An irregular but rapid fire was now commenced on both sides, which continued for some time. It was the first affair in which the regiment had actively participated, and the officers and men seemed inspired with a desire to prove themselves soldiers and worthy the fame which so justly attached to their comrades in

the brigade and division. Several of the companies deliberately abandoned their sheltered position and exposed themselves to the full force of the enemy's fire. Every one displayed commendable courage; but there were two in particular who for their pertinacious bravery are entitled to special mention. One was William Gosshorn, a corporal in company F, who received a painful wound in the thigh at almost the first fire of the enemy. He would not retire, however, but keeping in line, he deliberately loaded and fired his gun seven or eight times, when he was compelled by loss of blood to cease the desperate game. The other was William C. Stewart, a private in company C, who that day acted as color-bearer. He was a tall, athletic fellow, and when the firing commenced he advanced in front of his company and his regiment, and raising the "Stars and Stripes" as high as possible, maintained his position unmoved amidst a shower of bullets until the fight ended. No appeals could make him fall back into line. He proved himself a hero that day, and worthy the glory of the noble banner he bore aloft.

Finding he could not dislodge the Ninety-third from its position, and foiled in his attempt to ambush the train, the enemy finally fled precipitately to the rear, up the valley and out of sight. The bravery of the gallant boys in that their maiden fight saved the forage train of nearly one hundred wagons, and gave noble evidence of what might be expected of them in the great battle evidently not far distant.

On the 10th of December the division lost the services of Brigadier General Joshua W. Sill. General R. W. Johnson, who in August had been placed in command of cavalry to pursue Morgan, and who after a severe fight with his forces at Gallatin was defeated and captured, returned to the field, and by order of General Rosecrans assumed command of the SECOND DIVISION. It was with regret the soldiers learned of General Sill's assignment to another command. He had been with them as commander only since the 26th of August, but in that time his gallant bearing, his genial courtesy and kindness of heart, had won the esteem of all. He entered upon his new mission with the fervent "God bless and protect you!" of thousands of faithful and patriotic men. His sun of life, however, was already setting, and was destined soon to sink amidst the crimson clouds of strife on the battle-field of Stone River. On leaving he issued the following farewell order:

CAMP NEAR NASHVILLE, DECEMBER 10, 1862.

*General Orders, No. 18.*

In compliance with Special Field Orders No. 19, from the headquarters of the Fourteenth Army Corps, the undersigned withdraws from the command of the division. His constant thanks are due the officers and soldiers of the command, who have accorded him their indulgent consideration in all that he has undertaken, who have labored faithfully in the arduous routine of camp and outpost duty, and who have justified the highest expectations that can be entertained of men by enduring sacrifices with fortitude and by encountering dangers with intrepidity. His associations with this command will be cherished by him with pride and gratitude.

J. W. SILL, Brigadier General.



On the 19th of December the army was again reorganized. The following is an extract of the order issued from department headquarters on this date :

I. The numeration of divisions and brigades now running through the whole army is hereby changed. Divisions will hereafter be known as the first, second, third, etc., of the centre, or of such a wing. Brigades as the first, second, third, etc., of such a division.

II. Brigades in divisions, and divisions in wings, etc., will be numbered from right to left ; but in reports of operations they will be designated by the names of their commanders.

The SECOND DIVISION was consequently designated as the "SECOND DIVISION, Right Wing, Army of the Cumberland." The brigades of the division were thus designated :

First Brigade..	(old Sixth)..	Brigadier General A. Willich.
Second " ..	(old Fifth)..	" " E. N. Kirk.
Third " ..	(old Fourth).....	Colonel H. M. Buckley.

A regular brigade was also organized and attached to the division of General Rousseau. By this organization Rousseau again acquired the services of his old comrades in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Nineteenth Infantry ; also, the battery of the Fifth Artillery, now under command of First Lieutenant F. L. Guenther. What was General Rousseau's gain was the division's loss. An attachment existed between the regulars and the volunteers which was lasting and of the most happy character. It had been hoped that the brigade organization would remain intact, as of old ; but higher power willed it otherwise.







Eng'd by A. H. Ritchie

BRIG. GEN. J. W. SILL

J. W. Sill  
My General

Again came the indications for a march. No one doubted whither it tended. The railroad to Louisville had been completed, and supplies had been hastened forward, so that by the 20th of December there was concentrated at Nashville a quantity sufficient to subsist the army until the 1st of February, by which time the Cumberland would undoubtedly admit of steamboat navigation and supplies be more easily and rapidly forwarded. The men were clothed thoroughly for winter, and the army was indeed in excellent spirits and eager to be led forward by their new general (Rosecrans), in whom they had already learned to confide, and whose brilliant successes at Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill, Gauley Bridge, Iuka and Corinth practically demonstrated his capacity for command; nor did they entertain a doubt of a brilliant victory as the reward of their efforts.

At this time a great and beneficial change was made in the hygiene of the camp, namely, the substitution of shelter for Sibley and Bell tents. The inauguration of this new policy was met by the army with a storm of indignation, which they made no attempt to conceal. When these tents arrived and were issued, every where was heard denunciations of the "rags," and maledictions upon officers in general and quartermasters in particular were loud and deep; but subsequent experience has satisfied them that their actions then were folly, and now nothing is more highly prized. Since leaving Murfreesboro the army has never resumed the old cumbersome tent.

It is fitting that this chapter should close with a tribute, however brief, in memory of that gallant soldier, chivalric gentleman, and pure and honest-hearted man who led the SECOND DIVISION in a three months' arduous and weary campaign, and by his consummate skill in management and gentlemanly demeanor won the confidence of his command.

JOSHUA WOODROW SILL was the second son of the Honorable Joseph Sill and Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua Woodrow, of Hillsborough, Highland county, Ohio. He was born on the 6th of December, 1831, in the city of Chillicothe, where his father had resided since 1814. Joshua was an object of especial tenderness and care. His father was a lawyer by profession, and possessed a large share of public patronage; but as his son was an obedient and studious child, he felt solicitous for his mental culture, and devoted much time from his daily active duties in giving him valuable instruction. He gave early proof of a sweet and evenly balanced temper, and of a mind of no common ability. Ere he had reached the years of manhood he stood pre-eminent among his classmates in the mastery of the abstruse sciences, especially mathematics, while his proficiency in the Latin, Greek and French languages enabled him to a great extent to read and understand without the aid of commentaries, and gained for him the high approbation of his tutors and the unfeigned admiration of his friends. His father destined him for the legal profession; but for some reason hardly compatible for one of his

gentle spirit, he declined, and expressed his desire to attend West Point. However much the father may have regretted the son's rejection of the legal profession, it is certain that he did not attempt to control him in the field of his aspirations. In compliance with the son's request an application was filed in the proper department, and in 1849 he was appointed a United States cadet from the Chillicothe congressional district. In 1843 he graduated with distinction, being the third in his class. He received an ordnance appointment, and in 1854 was stationed at Watervliet Arsenal. In 1855 he was recalled to West Point, as an instructor. In 1857 he was ordered to Pittsburg Arsenal, where he was occupied for a time in draughting for and testing ordnance. Early in 1858 the Government resolved to erect an arsenal at Vancouver, Washington Territory, and Sill was ordered to superintend its construction. He sailed for this point in the month of May in that year; but the Vancouver difficulty then pending with the British Government prevented its erection, and therefore in September following he returned home. He was again stationed at Watervliet, but in a few months after was ordered to Fort Leavenworth.

Sill appears to have schooled himself at West Point through a sense of duty, so that if a difficulty arose which should compel his country to unsheath the sword, it might find him as a son worthy his *alma mater*, ready and willing

"To aid in Liberty's defence."

But the country was then at peace with the world, and such service was not in immediate demand. His nature displayed too much persistency of will—too strongly developed powers of application to endure the passive inaction of army life in times of peace. The position he occupied was that of an officer with practically nothing to do—far different from those who were on the frontiers—and to him it seemed a sinecure. As such he could not endure it: his ambition demanded another sphere of action, and his mind panted for food of a different character. Consequently, early in the spring of 1860 he forwarded to the Adjutant General of the army notice of his resignation, and in the following September he was tendered and accepted the Professorship of Mathematics and Civil Engineering in the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, a position which he filled until the outbreak of the rebellion with distinguished ability and to the eminent satisfaction of the trustees and students. In the meantime his resignation had been accepted, and he was purely a private citizen; but he was discontented the moment it was accepted. Already were the seeds of political strife germinating into the upas tree of rebellion, and he felt that at this critical juncture he should remain in the service. But the decision had been decreed, and he patiently bided time and events.

Soon the guns of Fort Sumter flashed through the land the startling intelligence that war was to be the issue. Instantly the great heart of the nation was

aroused to the noblest impulse that can actuate humanity—the defence of its free institutions. The first gun that thundered its deep mutterings over the waters of Charleston bay decreed the issue of the strife to be freedom or slavery. Every where—in city and town and village, among the cozy mountain homes of New England and over the prairie lands of the great West—was heard the air of the national Marseillaise, and its appeals awoke a power which naught could restrain. Fathers, sons, husbands and brothers rushed to arms amidst the prayers and blessings of dear ones, who willingly yet tearfully offered them as a sacred holocaust upon the altar of Liberty.

Sill at once resigned his professorship and offered his services to the Governor of Ohio. In May, 1861, he was summoned to Columbus, and was appointed Assistant Adjutant General of the State, in which position he aided in the organization of the Ohio troops. In August, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Thirty-third Ohio Infantry. He accompanied General William Nelson in his famous Eastern Kentucky expedition, and upon his return was assigned to General O. M. Mitchell's division, by whom he was placed in command of a brigade. He actively participated in all the dashing enterprises of that impetuous officer, and was present at the capture of Huntsville, and also the affairs of Bridgeport, Jasper and Battle Creek. It was while stationed at the latter place that the SECOND DIVISION arrived; and on the 10th of August, having been confirmed a

brigadier general on the 29th of July preceding, he was assigned the command of the fourth brigade, Colonel H. M. Buckley commanding. In a few days after he assumed command of the division. His career while with this command needs no repetition here: it speaks for itself. On the 10th of December he was transferred to a new command—a brigade in General Sheridan's division; and on the disastrous Wednesday of Stone River, the eventful 31st of December, he fell—fell a hero among heroes, while gallantly leading his brigade, with which he had thrice repulsed the fierce rebel onset. Unfortunately, the onslaught was too overpowering, and his brigade was forced to give way. General Sill, stretched upon the ground, a mangled corse, was left in the hands of the enemy. To their honor be it said, they gave his lifeless body kindly care, and it was soon after transferred to his friends, who carried him to Ohio; and there bells tolled, and flags hung at half-mast, as to the music of muffled drums he was borne solemnly, sadly along. Finally, amidst impressive ceremonies, he was laid to rest. The clods of earth fell slowly upon his breast, the last sad rites were ended, and all was over. Nobly he had offered his life a sacrifice—it had been accepted. Still the whirlwind of rebellion continued, and demanded new victims to satisfy its insatiable maw.

Sill was the only Union general killed in the battle of Stone River. The noble Kirk, after months of painful suffering, followed him to an earthly grave



and the portals of never-ending joy. General Sill was a popular commander. His public and private life were adorned with the unsullied purity of refined culture and Christian grace. His simplicity was as natural and artless as that of a child. His gentle demeanor favorably impressed all with whom he came in contact. His kindly dealing with the soldiers gained him their love, and many have this day some little memento of the general, which is cherished as a precious keepsake.

Once, while in command of the SECOND DIVISION, he was riding down the Nashville turnpike, on his return from the city, and accidentally dropped a glove. It was a common kid glove and well worn; but a soldier, Kimber A. Moore, a private in the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, observing it as it dropped, shouted to the general to arrest his attention, intending to restore it to him. The general, not hearing him, dashed on, and the soldier kept the glove. Showing it to some comrades he observed: "That glove belongs to the good and gallant General Sill. I shall keep it, however; and should he chance to fall in this cursed rebellion, which God forbid! I shall treasure it and instruct my children to preserve it in memory of a man who was at once citizen and soldier, and who amidst the glory of arms was not forgetful of the private soldiers, who by *their* valorous deeds, directed by *his* wisdom and practical sense, gained him his good name." That honest soldier retains the glove to-day, and considers it of priceless

value. Such was his standing among the soldiers; and when upon the battle-field of Stone River the SECOND DIVISION learned of his death, there were many expressions of deep and heartfelt sorrow. But besides these generous and finer attributes of manhood, he possessed those strong mental qualities which placed him a peer among our most worthy commanders. His mind was comprehensive and active, his sagacity seemed like prescience, his integrity above impeachment, his coolness in action proverbial, his gallantry the highest type of chivalric courage, which was so indisputably attested in his death—foremost in the ranks of danger.

“The history of every man paints his character,” says Goethe. If so, Stone River writes his gorgeously—gloriously. It paints him a noble commander, a soldier, and a martyr to his country’s cause. What loftier destiny is in store for man? What more enduring fame can he acquire?

“Oh *what* avails to trace the fate of war  
Through fields of blood, and paint each glorious scar!  
Why should the strain your former woes recall—  
The tears that wept a friend’s or brother’s fall,  
When by your side, first in the adventurous strife,  
He dauntless rushed, too prodigal of life!”

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE BATTLE OF STONE RIVER.

THE movement upon Murfreesboro commenced on the morning of the 26th of December, 1862. The announcement was made the night previous, and was greeted by the troops with a wild, shrill clamor which bespoke willing hearts and the assurance of victory. The day dawned drearily. A thick volume of mist hugged the valleys, while dense masses of black clouds overhung the heavens ; but no order came to countermand the movement, so an hour before day the *reveille* rolled along the lines and through the cordon of drowsy camps encircling Nashville. In a short time the immense trains of the army were moving towards the city, to park under the protection of the deep-mouthed cannon of Forts Casino, Confiscation and Negley. Meantime the army was in motion southward. It was expected the enemy would offer battle at Stewart's Creek, five miles south of La Vergne, on the Murfreesboro turnpike. The

enemy did not expect a winter campaign. He supposed the Federal army would establish winter quarters at Nashville, and had already established his own at Murfreesboro. Resting in this belief he had sent a large force of his cavalry into West Tennessee, to harass General Grant, and another into Kentucky, to destroy General Rosecrans' communication with the city of Louisville. The absence of these forces—a powerful arm with the enemy, and greatly superior to our own—was judged the opportune moment to strike a blow. Information was positive that the forces of Polk and Kirby Smith were at Murfreesboro, and that Hardee's corps was on the Shelbyville and Nolensville turnpike, between Triune and Eaglesville. The army therefore moved in three columns, in accordance with the following instructions:

McCook, with three divisions, to advance by the Nolensville pike to Triune.

Thomas, with two divisions, (Negley's and Rousseau's,) to advance on his right, by the Franklin and Wilson pikes, threatening Hardee's right, and then to fall in by the cross-roads to Nolensville.

Crittenden, with Wood's, Palmer's and Van Cleve's divisions, to advance by the Murfreesboro turnpike to La Vergne.

With Thomas's two divisions at Nolensville, McCook was to attack Hardee at Triune; and if the enemy reinforced Hardee, Thomas was to support McCook.

If McCook beat Hardee, or Hardee retreated, and the enemy met us at Stewart's Creek, five miles south of La Vergne, Crittenden was to attack him. Thomas was to come in on his left flank, and McCook, after detaching a division to pursue or observe Hardee, if retreating southward, was to move with the remainder of his force on his rear.

At six o'clock General Davis's division of the right wing moved out upon the Edmondson turnpike, with orders to move upon that road to Prim's blacksmith shop, and thence by a county road to Nolensville. General Sheridan's division moved at the same hour on the direct road to Nolensville, followed by the SECOND DIVISION. The advance division encountered the enemy when about two miles from our picket line. Skirmishing was briskly kept up throughout the day, and the corps encamped on the hills beyond Nolensville for the night. It had rained almost incessantly during the day, and the roads had become muddy and difficult of travel; but the enthusiasm of the soldiers had increased as the barometer fell. They manifested the disposition that soldiers ought when going into danger—their hearts full of confidence and contentment.

At daylight on the 27th the corps again moved forward, the cavalry under General Stanley in the advance, followed by the SECOND DIVISION, Major Klein's battalion of the Third Indiana Cavalry being assigned to special duty with the division. A wintry fog covered the country, so that only the most prominent points could be seen, and making a successful movement of troops a difficult undertaking. When somewhat more than a mile advanced, a considerable force of the enemy's cavalry, supported by artillery, opened on our cavalry, and seemed inclined to contest its advance. The country here is a succession of ridges and bottoms—the former mostly covered with

cedar thickets, the latter open fields. The skirmishing growing animated, the column pushed rapidly on until ascending a ridge, when it was opened on with shot and shell. Advantage was taken by General Kirk of a cedar thicket covering this ridge, to move the Twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel Dunn, and the Thirty-fourth Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Bristol,<sup>1</sup> to the left of the road and toward the enemy.

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1. Colonel Hiram W. Bristol was born at Ravenna, Portage county, Ohio, on the 3d of November, 1836. In the fall of 1850 he was placed in an academy at Winahan, Ohio. Soon after (the Union Schools of Ravenna having in the meantime been organized) he returned there, and in June, 1853, pronounced the valedictory of the first graduating class from said schools. In the spring of 1850 he entered Alleghany College, at Meadville, Pennsylvania, where he remained until the fall of 1856. On the 4th of November in that year he was entered as a law student in the office of Judge Luther Day, at Ravenna. On the 8th of February, 1859, he was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court at Columbus, Ohio. On the 25th of May, 1859, having married, he removed to Morrison, Whiteside county, Illinois, where he commenced the practice of law.

When Sumter was fired on he raised a company for the three months' service, but was unable to get them accepted. On the 24th of July following the Thirty-fourth Illinois was organized at Dixon, Illinois; and on the 7th of September, 1861, he was mustered into the United States service as captain of company B. On the 7th of April, and on the battle-field of Shiloh, he was promoted to major of the Thirty-fourth for meritorious conduct, to fill the vacancy of the lamented Levanway, who there fell. On the 18th of April, 1862, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel; and on the 19th of December, 1862, he received the appointment of colonel of the regiment. On the 8th of March, 1863, being broken down in health, he resigned his commission and retired from the service.

On the 31st of December, the day so fatal to the right wing of the Army of the Cumberland, being unable to sit his horse, he drove to the front in his ambulance, and was twice taken prisoner and twice recaptured—being under fire from daylight until three o'clock in the afternoon, when he reached the field hospital in rear of the centre of the army, where he was taken out nearly insensible, and on the 4th of January was sent to the hospital at Nashville. He now resides at Fremont, Ohio. The hardships of the service have probably shortened his life by many years.

Colonel Bristol was a good commander, thoroughly versed in the duties of his profession, and as brave an officer as ever led a command on the field. His conduct at Shiloh was the admiration of all who witnessed it, and he will not soon be forgotten by the brave boys he once had the honor to command.


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Four companies from each regiment were thrown forward as skirmishers, closely supported by the rest of the battalions. This advanced line moved very cautiously yet quickly forward, soon overtaking the cavalry, which was slowly but steadily pushing the enemy back. Just beyond was another hill, which they soon ascended; and here they were halted, for on the next hill, separated only by a narrow valley, was planted the rebel artillery. Here, too, the rebel cavalry was drawn up. The brigade was now moved entirely to the left of the road—the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel Housam, and the Seventy-ninth Illinois, Colonel Read, supporting the battalion in front, and the Thirtieth Indiana, Colonel Dodge, supporting Edgerton's battery, which was now ordered into position to reply to the rebel artillery. It opened fire from every gun, and after a short but spirited contest drove the rebels out of range.

Meantime the third brigade, Colonel P. P. Baldwin, was ordered to the front by General Johnson, and placed in position on the right of the road. The First Ohio, Major J. A. Stafford, and the Sixth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel Tripp, in deployed lines, supported by the Louisville Legion, Lieutenant Colonel W. W. Berry, and the Ninety-third Ohio, Colonel Charles Anderson. Simonson's battery was first posted on the road, from which position it aided in repulsing the enemy, and subsequently to the right of Baldwin's line. The first brigade moved in rear, as the reserve of the division.

The firing between our advance and the enemy was spirited but hazardous, as the fog now settled into an almost impenetrable veil; and even our own cavalry were fired into on the flanks, under the impression that it was the foe: it was therefore deemed prudent to await the lifting of the fog before a further advance was attempted. About seven o'clock the division descended the slope it had occupied, and moved forward the remainder of the day in the same order in which it had been posted when on the hill. Skirmishing with the rear guard of Hardee's corps was constant until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the division reached a hill overlooking the village of Triune. Here the enemy was in plain view, drawn up in line of battle, his centre resting in the village. Edgerton's and Simonson's batteries were unlimbered, and commenced shelling the position with admirable accuracy, one shot from Edgerton's guns disabling one of the enemy's pieces. The Sixth and Twenty-ninth Indiana and the Thirty-fourth Illinois charged the battery, but the artillerists did not stand to receive the shock. The rain now began to descend in torrents, and pursuit for a time was abandoned. An hour afterwards it was resumed, but the enemy on withdrawing had destroyed a bridge across Wilson's Creek, which flows near the edge of the town, compelling our artillery to cross about half a mile below. The troops now pushed on as rapidly as the nature of the ground would permit, driving the enemy before them. Night coming on, the con-





flict of the day was ended, and the troops bivouacked on the field, about a mile south of Triune. Here the division encamped during the 28th, awaiting the developments of the enemy on other portions of the front. Meantime the destroyed bridge was rebuilt, and a strong reconnoissance sent out under command of General Willich, to determine whether the enemy had retired to Shelbyville or to Murfreesboro. This reconnoissance was pushed to Rigg's Cross-roads, seven miles to the front, in the direction of Shelbyville, and developed the fact that the enemy retreated down the Eaglesville road, thence by a dirt road to the Salem turnpike, which leads into Murfreesboro. Forty-one prisoners of war were taken during this expedition.

On the morning of the 29th of December the right wing was again in motion on the Bulle Jack road, the SECOND DIVISION being the rear of the corps. The third brigade, Colonel P. P. Baldwin commanding, was ordered to remain at Triune as a corps of observation, taking up a strong position on the north of Wilson's Creek. The object was to protect the right flank of the army. One company of Major Klein's battalion of cavalry and one section of Simonson's battery were left with this brigade. This position was only temporary, and was to cover the movement of the right wing until in the order of battle before Murfreesboro. That night, which was extremely disagreeable from a cold drenching rain which fell, the division (Kirk's and Willich's brigades) bivou-

acked near the Salem road, some five miles distant from Murfreesboro. The men lay on their arms and in rear of General Davis's division.

On the 30th of December General McCook advanced his corps in line of battle, Sheridan's division covering the Wilkinson turnpike, and Davis's division in line on the right. Behind he kept in reserve the SECOND DIVISION, which marched in column on the turnpike. The advance divisions were engaged during the day, meeting with some casualties, but steadily forcing the enemy. About one o'clock in the afternoon the division obliqued to the right, covering Davis's right as he moved into position, it being seriously threatened by the enemy's cavalry. Appearing in considerable force, Edgerton's battery threw a few shells among them, and they retired. Soon after two rebel batteries opened fire upon our front. General Kirk, finding an excellent position for his artillery just beyond his right, and which controlled both the rebel batteries, directed Captain Edgerton to open with all his guns upon the nearest one. This simultaneous fire was splendidly effective, killing and wounding several men and horses. It was rapidly withdrawn, but the enemy was compelled to abandon one of his disabled pieces and two or three of his carriages. Meanwhile the battery to the right had opened, to which Edgerton replied, and soon drove it from the field. No other engagement occurred upon the front that day, and preparations were made on both sides for further work. General

McCook, confident that the morrow would witness a battle, ordered Colonel Baldwin's brigade to the front. About two o'clock in the afternoon the cavalry protecting our right flank was hard pressed, and the enemy was evidently making demonstrations in our rear. To resist this Colonel Baldwin's brigade was ordered to report to General Stanley. It moved out some two miles to a point on the Salem turnpike, and was there stationed as a reserve, the Ninety-third Ohio only moving in support of the cavalry. After marching for about a mile and a half through corn and cotton fields and meadows, they came upon a rebel brigade of cavalry drawn up in line of battle. The Ninety-third advanced to a fence and commenced firing, but the range was too great to be effective. The command was then ordered to fall back, their retreat being covered by General Stanley's cavalry. The brigade rejoined the division after dark, and bivouacked for the night near General Johnson's headquarters, as a reserve to Kirk's and Willich's brigades.

The line of battle was speedily formed, and was about three miles in extent, and trended in a north-east and south-west direction. The left of the line rested on Stone river, the right extending south-westerly, resting on a high wooded ridge north of and on the Franklin turnpike. The order of battle for the right wing was the brigades of Sill, Roberts, Carlin, Post, Kirk and Willich in front, with Schafer's, Woodruff's and Baldwin's brigades in reserve. The

Nashville turnpike runs in a north-westerly direction from Murfreesboro. The topography of the country is this: The Wilkinson turnpike runs a westerly course, and intersects with the Nashville turnpike on the east side of Stone river, near Murfreesboro. The Franklin turnpike also runs westerly from Murfreesboro. In rear of where the line of the right wing was posted is a common road, which runs due north and south, connecting the Franklin and Wilkinson turnpikes.

The line of the entire army in its relative position was this: The right of Wood's division rested upon the Nashville turnpike, and his left on Stone river; Palmer's left rested on the turnpike, joining Wood's right, his right joining Negley's left, the reserves for this wing being posted to the rear and left of the turnpike; Negley's division was obliqued to the right, joining Palmer; Rousseau's division was situated on the turnpike in the rear and centre; Sheridan's division joined Negley, his right resting on the Wilkinson turnpike; Davis's to the right of Sheridan, his left resting on the same turnpike; Johnson's on the right of Davis, Kirk's brigade facing in the general line eastward, Willich's brigade in a line nearly perpendicular to Kirk's line, facing due south near the Franklin turnpike.

The position of the right wing was mostly on a high cedar-covered ridge, with open ground—corn and cotton fields in front. The centre was on rolling and more commanding ground, but covered by a

dense cedar thicket to the rear and left. The left wing was posted on ground rather undulating, skirted with timber, with open fields in front. All along this line of battle extended a valley, gradually narrowing from right to left, and varying in width from two hundred to four hundred yards.

Such was the general formation of our line on the night of the 30th of December. It has been described thus minutely that movements which occurred subsequently may be better understood.

But the position of the SECOND DIVISION needs to be more fully particularized. General Kirk's brigade was thus disposed: The Thirtieth Indiana and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania in front, in deployed line; the Twenty-ninth Indiana in double column in the rear, as reserve; the Thirty-fourth Illinois on the extreme right, and a little to the rear, supporting Edgerton's battery, two pieces of which were placed on the road running in rear of the position, and up which it was supposed the enemy would advance to attack. The battery was to the rear and left of the Thirty-fourth Illinois. In front of the latter was a cedar grove; the battery was on open ground, or nearly so, with a dense cedar thicket in front of the remaining regiments. This line covered the Franklin turnpike, and was just in advance of the road running in rear and which intersects it at right-angles. The Seventy-ninth Illinois was detached for the night, as guard to the division train. Such was General Kirk's line of battle when first formed. At night

General Davis shortened his line towards the left, thereby leaving an interval of some two hundred yards, which General Kirk was compelled to cover with skirmishers. This weakened his line somewhat by extending it, and the Twenty-ninth Indiana was moved into the front line. Kirk now relied for support upon Willich's and Baldwin's brigades. It was essential that the artillery be placed in an available position, and consequently the nature of the ground would not admit of a change which should shorten the line. In front was a heavy line of skirmishers thrown out from each regiment to the margin of open fields, and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise.

General Willich's forces were thus disposed, facing due south : To the right of Edgerton's battery, along a fence, and on a line perpendicular with Kirk's right, lay in line of battle the reserve companies of the Thirty-second and Thirty-ninth Indiana, portions of which were on picket duty in front. In the angle formed by the junction of the two roads is a square field of open woods ; beyond and south of this is an open space, sparingly timbered, and some hundred yards in width, through which the Franklin road runs. Inside the wooded field, and not many yards from the fence where lay the reserves of the two regiments first named, was the Forty-ninth Ohio in line of battle, its left resting near the road in rear of Kirk's line, its right extending nearly to the inclosed field on the west. In its rear the Eighty-ninth Illi-

nois was formed in double column, closed in mass. In a line perpendicular to the rear of the right of the Forty-ninth Ohio was the Fifteenth Ohio, its line of battle facing westward. In the south-west corner of the wooded field referred to was Goodspeed's battery, parked in oblong square. To the north and west of this wooded field, and to the south and east of the open space, were cleared fields. Kirk's picket line covered his front and flank, and joined Willich's at a fence some six hundred yards south of the left of the reserve of the Thirty-ninth Indiana. The pickets of this latter regiment extended through a corn field, those of the Thirty-second Indiana joining them and covering the flank and rear of the brigade.

Colonel Baldwin's brigade remained in bivouac near General Johnson's headquarters, in a piece of timber which was some distance to the rear of the advance lines. In front of this timber, and between it and the advance brigades, were inclosed fields. In this position the division rested for the night.

Across the narrow valley which extended along our front was posted the rebel army in order of battle; its right wing resting upon heights on the east bank of Stone river—a stream rushing like a torrent in winter, but fordable any where in summer,—intersecting the river parallel with our left front; the centre extending along a ridge through cotton fields and timber, which sloped gradually towards our centre; its left wing tracing the crest of a rough and rocky ridge partially screened by timber, and termi-

nating some half-mile to the south of the Franklin turnpike.

When General Johnson was informed of the position of Hardee's corps—that the centre of the rebel army was opposite his extreme right, he felt fearful that his division might be compromised, and imparted to his brigade commanders the information he had received, enjoining upon them the strictest vigilance. General McCook had told him that he would probably be attacked in the morning by the whole of the rebel army, and his prediction proved nearly true. As stated in a previous chapter, the *ruse* of camp fires was enjoined to be carried out to draw the enemy into the belief that we were massing troops there, and thus compel him to contract his lines or await attack.

The dispositions having been all completed, General Rosecrans carried his confidence so far as to issue an address to his soldiers, imbued with the significance and grandeur of the pending conflict. Here it is, just as it was read to a portion of the troops on the morning of the battle:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, }  
IN FRONT OF MURFREESBORO, DECEMBER 31, 1862. }

*Orders.*

The General Commanding desires to say to the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland, that he was well pleased with their conduct yesterday. It was all that he could have wished for. He neither saw nor heard of any skulking. They behaved with the coolness and gallantry of veterans. He now feels perfectly confident, with God's grace and



their help, of striking this day a blow for the country the most crushing, perhaps, which the rebellion has yet sustained. Soldiers! the eyes of the whole nation are upon you; the very fate of the nation may be said to hang on the issues of this day's battle. Be true, then, to yourselves; true to your own manly character and soldierly reputation; true to the love of your dear ones at home, whose prayers ascend this day to God for your success. Be cool. I need not ask you to be brave. Keep ranks. Do not throw away your fire. Fire slowly, deliberately—above all, fire low, and be always sure of your aim. Close readily in upon the enemy, and when you get within charging distance, rush upon him with the bayonet. Do this, and victory will certainly be yours. Recollect that there are hardly any troops in the world that will stand a bayonet charge, and that those who make it, therefore, are sure to win.

By command of Major General Rosecrans.

JULIUS P. GARESCHÉ, A. A. G and Chief of Staff.

The 30th of December had been a dreary day. Rain had fallen almost constantly, and the soldiers were saturated with water. Towards night the wind swept coldly from the north, and as no bivouac fires were permitted on the *real* front, the aspect was truly cheerless. At midnight the stars faintly twinkled through the rifts of clouds which still hung heavily over head, portentous of rain. The scene was fearfully impressive. Within half a mile of each other lay two mighty armies, in the most perfect silence, waiting for the morrow's light to wreak the vengeance of the deadly rencontre. Peace then ruled supreme—

“The forests fretted aisles,  
And leafy domes above them bent,  
And solitude  
So eloquent!”

By three o'clock in the morning of the 31st of December the commanders were astir and vigilant. Captain E. P. Edsall and Lieutenant A. T. Baldwin, of General Kirk's staff, visited the line of outposts, and found everything quiet in front. At the same hour General Willich ordered Lieutenant Colonel Jones, of the Thirty-ninth Indiana, to patrol the woods six hundred yards in front of his pickets. Company B executed this perilous night mission, but no indications of the presence or purposes of the foe were discovered.

At five o'clock in the morning the division was quietly called to arms, and thus awaited daylight. Just as day dawned, there being no indications of the enemy advancing, the order was issued to prepare breakfast. The meal was frugal and soon ended. Meantime a portion of the artillery horses (about one third of the whole number) were taken to water, which was near by—the remainder standing ready to hitch to the pieces on the first indication of danger.

At precisely twenty-two minutes past six in the morning, and not ten minutes after the dawn of day, a brisk firing was heard upon the extreme right of General Kirk's line. It was evident the rebels had commenced the movement against our right. The enemy could be seen advancing over the open country in our front, about a fourth of a mile distant. They moved in four heavy columns, battalion front, four battalions deep, with a strong reserve held in mass. The advance column moved directly on the Thirty-

fourth Illinois. It was an overwhelming force. General Kirk ordered the Thirty-fourth to advance to the support of its skirmishers and pickets, with the hope of checking the enemy and relieving the battery. The Thirty-fourth advanced steadily out into the open field, and commenced firing, defending the front with admirable gallantry. But its position was an especial mark for rebel practice, and they poured into it a murderous volley. Still the regiment nobly stood its ground, firing with great effectiveness, but suffering terribly. Meantime Edgerton's battery opened. It could not at first distinguish the enemy, and threw a couple of shells in the direction of their fire. In a moment, however, they came in sight of and near the battery, when it opened with canister. The rebel line replied, and at the first fire killed and wounded seventy-five horses, which entirely unmanned the guns. The fight had not been raging five minutes, yet it was terrific. The Thirty-fourth poured volley after volley into the advancing hosts. The skirmishers of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Indiana and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania also directed an oblique fire on the advancing column; but it moved on like an automaton, and scores of our men were killed and wounded.

When within some thirty-yards of Kirk's line the rebel column partially changed front, and moved on our right at left oblique, and on the double-quick. Their yells were deafening. They now moved so as to completely flank Kirk's line and render the posi-

tion entirely untenable. On they came, like a huge tidal wave of the sea, maddened with draughts of gunpowdered whiskey and terribly in earnest. The Thirty-fourth soon became engaged in an almost hand-to-hand conflict. Already twelve men had been killed and sixty wounded; but the regiment heroically sought to maintain its line. The strife over its colors was terrible and bloody. Five color-bearers fell in quick succession, but fast as they fell the flag was raised aloft and flaunted in the face of the foe! Thus fell Santee, Wright, Wendell, and others whose names are unknown. Lieutenant John Smith, of company H, rushed to the rescue as the colors were being grasped by a rebel, seized them, and fell dead, pierced by five musket balls! Another soldier, name unknown, snatched them from the ground, ran and gave them to a soldier of Edgerton's battery who was mounted, to bear to the rear; but he, too, was shot, and the colors over which so much precious blood had been spilled were trailed in the mud by traitor hands.

The rebel column now rushed upon Edgerton's guns. He, in a manly voice that rang above the din of battle, told his men to save themselves, while he grimly stood by one of his pieces, and, assisted by Lieutenant Burwick, loaded and discharged it into the column as it closed upon him, mowing a huge roadway through it, and in an instant after he was wounded and fell across the trail of the piece. Many of his men refused to leave him, and fought the foe

with their swabs, and were killed or captured. While in this position he received a bayonet thrust in the breast, and was left for dead.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Warren Parker Edgerton was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 16th of May, 1836. In early life he manifested uncommon powers of oratory, and was placed under the tuition of the celebrated author and rhetorician, William Russell. His youthful years were thus passed in laying the foundation of his future eminence as an elocutionist and orator. At the early age of sixteen he was elected as tutor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the Hudson River Institute, New York, a position which he held for nearly three years; and during which time he applied himself with unceasing assiduity to the acquisition of useful knowledge. Indeed, his life at this time was a continuous progression in science and literature. Vacating it for the study of law, which he prosecuted with untiring vigor, in the State Law College of Ohio, he graduated with honor in his twenty-first year. He was shortly after appointed "Professor of Oratory and Law of Contracts" in that Institution. He was also one of the editors of the "Western Law Monthly." He also originated and published a series of text books on Elocution, which were received with great favor, and became the standard work in many schools and colleges.

In April, 1861, upon the President's call for troops, Edgerton enlisted as a private in Colonel James Barnett's battery of artillery, and served as such in every engagement of McClellan's campaign in Western Virginia. His term of enlistment having expired, he was commissioned to raise a battery of artillery. In less than three weeks he enlisted one hundred and fifty men, who were mustered into the service as battery E, First Ohio Light Artillery. It was assigned to General O. M. Mitchell's division, and participated with that command in all its arduous and brilliant campaigns in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama. When his battery was attached to the Second Division he was appointed chief of artillery, and served in that honorable position until the memorable battle of Stone River. Of his heroic action and capture enough is said in the text.

In June, 1863, he returned to his command, and was appointed chief of artillery at the post of Nashville. When the reserve troops moved to the front, just previous to the battle of Chickamauga, he was relieved from his post at Nashville upon his own request, and made chief of artillery upon General Morgan's staff. Five weeks after he was assigned a similar position upon the staff of Major General Philip H. Sheridan. During the first and second days of the battle of Mission Ridge, he commanded the guns of Fort Negley at Chattanooga. On the morning of the third he took the field. Stationing two regular batteries on Orchard Knob, he directed their fire upon the enemy on Mission Ridge, until our own troops came within range; then mounting his horse, he dashed on to the front, joining General Sheridan just in time to participate in the capture of Bragg's headquarters. When the Fourth Army Corps hastened to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville, he was placed in charge of the artillery accompanying the expedition. On the 10th of March he was promoted major of artillery.

General Kirk had now lost his guns, and his heart was grieved. Hastily he withdrew his regiments to another position, directly in front of the rebel column, and there renewed the contest. He then dashed to Willich's brigade, which was already suffering from the enemy's fire, and appealed for aid. A portion of the reserve of the Thirty-ninth Indiana, heroically aided in the new defence, but the other regiments awaited the orders of General Willich, and in the meantime were driven back. This attack, renewed so suddenly, for a moment staggered the rebel line; but although scores fell, it closed up solid as before, and moved on as if bullets were but pebble-stones thrown by an infant. Their fire, kept up briskly and directed with precision, soon threw the ranks into disorder, despite the strenuous exertions of General Kirk and his subordinates to induce steadiness. Here Kirk had his horse shot under him, but mounting

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Edgarton possesses a noble and majestic form; his manners are bland and dignified; his voice rich and mellifluous; his diction elegant; his eloquence fervid and commanding. As a man he invokes respect and esteem from his high-toned character and generous heart. As a lawyer he is regarded as possessing exalted talents and a brilliant genius. As an orator his manner is captivating, his gestures graceful and animated, and

“His words have such a melting flow,  
And speak of truth so sweetly well,  
They drop like heaven's serenest dew,  
And all is brightness where they fall.”

As a soldier he is manly, and brave as a lion, fully inspired with the nature of the conflict and prepared to meet it in all its stern necessities. As a commander he is firm yet temperate, strict yet not severe, gaining the obedience of his men not by arbitrary commands, but through the winning grace of confidence and love. Altogether, the service has but few men his superiors in the knowledge of gunnery or in devotion to its true interests.



another he again directed his men. The rebel line was now within twenty paces, and to stand longer was death or capture. The column pressing them outnumbered as five to one. Here Lieutenant Riley fell, and more than a hundred gallant soldiers crimsoned the earth with their blood. This attests the stubbornness of the resistance.

Again the brigade fell back to a fence which ran diagonally through an open field, and under cover of which Kirk hoped to hold the enemy in check until he could receive reinforcements; but the foe pressed closely, and the resistance was feeble. Kirk here had a second horse killed, and was himself severely wounded in the thigh. Still he thought to retain the command, and Wagner,<sup>3</sup> his chief of staff, together with other staff officers, displayed great heroism in rallying the men. It was near here that General Willich, while galloping to the front, to form his

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3. David C. Wagner was born on the 23d day of March, 1825, near Hagerstown, Maryland. In the fall of 1836 his father removed with his family to Springfield, Ohio. He remained there until the fall of 1837, and then removed to the Rock river country, Illinois, and was one of the first families that settled in Ogle county. In the spring of 1850 he proceeded to California by the overland route. In the fall of 1853 he returned to the Rock river country, and located at Mount Morris, Ogle county.

During the summer of 1861 he aided in recruiting a company for the Thirty-Fourth Illinois, and was elected its first lieutenant. While at Munfordsville, Kentucky, in the winter of 1861, he was elected captain of company K of that regiment. He gallantly led this company through the fiery ordeal of Shiloh. In the fall of 1862 he was appointed acting assistant adjutant general to General E. N. Kirk, with whom he remained until the battle of Stone River, when General Kirk was mortally wounded. He was then appointed as acting United States quartermaster. He remained in this capacity until the disorganization of the Twentieth Army Corps. On the 17th of November he was appointed as inspector general on General John Beaty's staff, in which capacity he served until his regiment re-enlisted as veterans.

brigade in Kirk's support, was pounced upon, his horse shot, and himself captured by another column of the enemy, which at first moved upon the Twenty-ninth Indiana, and then obliquing a little to the right, attacked the right of Davis's division.

A corn field now lay in the rear, which at first rapidly descended into a hollow, then gradually ascended until it formed into a slight plateau. Skirting this was a piece of timber, and for this the men, hotly pressed, hastened—not in fright, but in considerable confusion. Kirk followed for a short distance, cheering the men, but soon his strength failed him from the loss of blood, and his patriotic energy succumbed to the intensity of pain, and he was borne bleeding to the rear. Colonel Dodge, of the Thirtieth Indiana, was then notified that he was in command. The corn field was a plain of death. It was crossed under a withering fire, which swept the dry grass and stalks like a prairie fire. Language cannot describe the fearful carnage of that open field. But it was strewn with rebel as well as Union dead ; for the soldiers loaded as they ran, turned, fired into the compact rebel column, and then renewed the flight.

This retreat, although a "military necessity," was disastrous to a further unity of effort during this fearful ordeal of battle. A portion of the Thirty-fourth Illinois in its retreat became mingled with the soldiers of Willich's brigade, and was borne too far to the right, and many men were captured in the





cavalry charge which the enemy made upon that flank. It was then Captain Wood and Lieutenant Weld, with a few of their men, were captured by the enemy. Major Dysart<sup>4</sup> succeeded in rallying about fifty of his men behind a fence skirting a wooded height and some three-fourth of a mile in rear of his former position, and opened a destructive fire upon a regiment of rebel cavalry which was charging upon them ; but finding it impossible to hold the position, he retreated to the Nashville turnpike, and there aided in the defence of our trains, which were threatened by a strong column of the enemy's cavalry.


The Thirtieth Indiana fell rapidly back to the right and rear, halted for a moment at the fence in the corn field, and then fell back to a position nearly skirting the timber. Here it was joined by the remnant of the four companies which were on picket in the morning, having lost their major, Fitzsimmons, who was captured. Taking position behind a fence, and commanding the ground over which the enemy

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4. Colonel A. P. Dysart was born on the 26th day of February, 1826, in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, and moved to Lee county, Illinois, in 1847. His occupation is that of a farmer. In August, 1861, he raised a company for the Thirty-Fourth Illinois, and was elected its captain. At Shiloh he acted as major when the gallant Levanway fell, and was promoted to that rank on the 18th of the same month. Upon the promotion of Colonel Kirk and the resignation of Colonel Bristol, who had received the appointment, he was commissioned as colonel, to date from the 29th of November, 1862. Upon the arrival of the division at Tullahoma, Tennessee, in July, 1863, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted, to date from the 7th of August, 1863. Colonel Dysart was popular with his men and emphatically their friend. He ever sought for their comfort, and supplied, so far as possible, their necessities. When he departed from the service he shook the hand of nearly every comrade in his command, and received the hearty "God bless you!" of every man. He is now on his farm at Nachusa, Illinois.


must pass, it awaited the opportunity to attack. A portion of the Thirty-fourth Illinois accompanied it. Meantime Major Buckner, of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, dashed up and reported to Colonel Dodge that his regiment was ready to do anything it could. Dodge ordered it forward across the open field to his right and rear. It was a new regiment, never yet in battle, but it advanced with the steadiness of veterans amid a terribly destructive fire from the enemy. Scores fell while crossing the field. On the "double quick" it came, and forming upon the right of the Thirtieth Indiana, at once engaged the enemy.

When the Thirty-fourth Illinois and the battery were turned by the rebels, Lieutenant Colonel Dunn, being exposed to a withering cross-fire, withdrew his regiment and moved across the open fields in the direction, but somewhat to the right, of General Johnson's headquarters, the men constantly firing in retreat upon the rebel column, which pressed them closely. It first formed behind the corn field fence, but being unsupported it retired to the skirt of the timber. While in this position the Thirtieth Indiana was observed to cross the field to the front and left, and form in line of battle behind the fence on the crest just referred to. Lieutenant Colonel Dunn then moved his command by the flank, under cover of the woods, until directly in its rear, but some forty rods distant, when a section of Simonson's battery unlimbered in its front, and the regiment halted as its support.



When the attack was so fiercely made upon the pickets of the Thirty-fourth Illinois, the pickets of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania aided in the fire upon the rebel column, and the regiment advanced to their support. Another column of the enemy soon moved directly on the Twenty-ninth Indiana. The regiment then engaged this latter force with alacrity, and for a few minutes there was exchanged a destructive fire of musketry at half range. The Seventy-seventh had an immense advantage in position, and the rebel line would soon have sunk beneath such a steady and fatal fire had it not retreated across the little brook which meandered through the valley in front. At this instant the overwhelming attack on the regiments in line on the right forced them back and uncovered the right of the Seventy-seventh. Soon after the Twenty-second Indiana, of General Davis's division, pressed by a portion of the heavy column which had moved upon the Twenty-ninth Indiana, gave way, and the regiment was suddenly left isolated and alone, battling against great odds, and in danger of capture, for it was amidst a square of fires. In front the enemy it had repulsed was reformed and again advancing; on its right, and partially in its rear, were the columns which had turned and dispersed the first and the remainder of the second brigades. Colonel Housam then formed in line of battle upon the right of General Davis's division, which had already changed front, its line running nearly perpendicular to its first formation.

Directly in front of the Seventy-seventh, and about four hundred yards distant, was a rebel battery. A little to the right, and in front of this, were Edgarton's guns which the enemy had captured and turned against us. Colonel Housam, deeming the moment opportune, ordered the regiment to charge these batteries, which it did most gallantly, recapturing Edgarton's pieces, and straight on to the other battery, under a raking fire of grape and canister, until suddenly confronted by a largely superior force, and being unsupported, it was compelled to fall back, abandoning the fruits of its glorious energy. Again it reformed on General Davis's right, and awaited the approach of the enemy. On he came, maddened with the delirium of apparent victory; but he was met by a fire which momentarily staggered him. He closed up, however, and on this line the contest was hotly waged for some time. Here the gallant Housam fell, mortally wounded, and was borne in a dying state from the field. When he received the fatal shot he staggered and coolly remarked to his adjutant, "Davis, I am wounded. Stay by the brave boys of the Seventy-seventh." And nobly he did, for in a few minutes the regiments to the left, in Post's and Carlin's brigades, were repulsed in a very unequal contest, and hurled back upon Sheridan's division. This compelled another retreat, and Lieutenant Davis gallantly led his regiment in order, halting it at every favorable piece of ground to offer battle, until finally it rested in the woods, near to



where the relics of the second and the whole of the third brigades were first formed.<sup>5</sup> Colonel Housam was the only field officer with the regiment. After its withdrawal from the scene of its disaster, Captain T. E. Rose assumed command and displayed chivalrous valor.

While the second brigade was extricating itself from the annihilating fire of the enemy, and was thus being forced back to near the headquarters of the division general, the third brigade was ordered under arms, and formed in line of battle on the edge of timber facing the open fields, and over which the foe must come to attack him. But General Johnson, seeing the enemy advancing on the second brigade,


5. Samuel T. Davis was born in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, March 6th, 1837. In the fall of 1857 he commenced teaching school, and in the winter of 1860 he commenced the regular study of medicine. In April, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers; served three months, and re-enlisted August 10th, 1861, as second lieutenant in company C, Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers. Upon the organization of the regiment he was commissioned adjutant.

While the command lay at Camp Nevin, Kentucky, General E. N. Kirk appointed him his acting assistant adjutant general. As such he served in the battle of Shiloh, winning the praise of his brigade and division commanders. Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh then assumed command of the brigade, and he was still retained. During the siege of Corinth he maintained the good name already acquired. Upon General Kirk again assuming command of the brigade he was relieved, at his own request.

March 15th, 1863, he was appointed brigade inspector, a position arduous in its duties and important in its trust, and which he held until October 10th, 1863. While in this position he aimed to do his whole duty regardless of friend or foe, and his anxiety was rewarded by the appreciation of General Rosecrans, expressed in a complimentary letter from Lieutenant Colonel A. C. Ducat, inspector general of the army. On the 10th of September, 1863, he was promoted to a captaincy in his regiment, and in December was appointed by Colonel Wm. Grose, commanding brigade, his acting assistant adjutant general. In December he re-enlisted his company as veterans, and the regiment shortly followed its example.

in line at the fence, where the Seventy-ninth Illinois joined it, ordered Colonel Baldwin to move the First Ohio across the open field and post it at the fence, to the left of the second brigade, and the Sixth Indiana on the edge of some timber to the left of the First Ohio. One section of the Fifth Indiana battery was posted between these two regiments. The Louisville Legion moved to the support of the First Ohio, and the Ninety-third Ohio was held in reserve in the woods near the edge of the field.

The line of battle at this time consisted of the third and a portion of the second brigades. On the right was the Seventy-ninth Illinois; to the left the Thirtieth Indiana and a portion of the Thirty-fourth Illinois. To the rear of the Thirtieth Indiana, supporting the section of Simonson's battery, was the Twenty-ninth Indiana. To the left of this, and about three hundred yards distant, was the third brigade, in the order of battle just described. This line was hardly formed when the enemy appeared full in front. The skirmishers were driven in, and a furious fire of musketry and artillery was poured forth. The two brigades opened with musketry and checked the advance of their skirmishers, forcing them back. Soon after this their main line advanced and deployed into four lines of battle, each line regimental front, and from four to six battalions deep, followed by columns closed in mass, and several batteries of artillery, and the contest was renewed with vengeful fury. One sheeted flame of fire and smoke extended



along the entire line. Our men fought with determined valor, and did all that mortal could to stay the surging tide. Simonson's guns, all in battery, rolled forth one continuous deafening sound, and mowed great openings through their columns. For nearly half an hour this carnage continued, and the ground was piled with loyal and rebel slain. Here fell Colonel Sheridan P. Read,<sup>6</sup> of the Seventy-ninth

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6. Sheridan P. Read was born in Champaign county, Ohio, in 1829, and belonged to a family distinguished for their learning and ability. His father, Ezra Read, was a native of Massachusetts, and on both his father's and mother's side the descendant of a vigorous stock, who, in the early New England history and in the war of the Revolution, had performed distinguished parts in the military and civic service. Colonel Read was educated at the Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, and graduated at the law school of the Indiana University at Bloomington, under the instructions of Judges McDonald and Otto, the latter now assistant Secretary of the Interior. Under the teachings of these eminent jurists he made rapid progress, and evinced qualities for the profession he had chosen which secured for him the highest commendation of his professors. He first commenced practice at Terre Haute, Indiana; but in 1853 he removed to Paris, Illinois, where he continued to reside until his death.

When the call was made for troops, in August, 1862, he volunteered as a soldier, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, and on the 18th of October following he was commissioned colonel of the regiment. He was an excellent officer, attentive to the wants of his men, and fully enjoyed their confidence. On the eventful 31st of December, 1862, he fell, his head pierced by a rifle ball while nobly leading his men. He died instantly, as the brave only could wish to die, in the discharge of the highest and noblest duty upon earth—the defence of home and country. His remains were brought to Paris, Illinois, for interment, where his memory will be cherished as one of the brightest jewels of the State. A noble wife and two young children are left to mourn his loss.

Colonel Read was a lawyer from love of his profession, and because it not only afforded him a livelihood but developed a strong mental culture. He was, perhaps, not excelled in his knowledge of law by any man of his age in the State. He was a friend to every good undertaking, and gave it his hearty support. In the cause of education he was particularly active, and for several years was the school commissioner for Edgar county. He was also deeply interested in every thing that could advance the mechanical or agricultural interests of the State. In politics he was a democrat, an earnest and honest partisan, and for several years an editor of a political paper in the town of Paris. When the rebellion broke upon the land, he dropped the pen which had labored

Illinois, Captain Frank Stebbins, of the Twenty-ninth, and Adjutant E. B. Sibley, of the Thirtieth Indiana; also Captain Furguson, of the Louisville Legion. During this ordeal the color-bearer of the Legion was shot, and the flag fell to the ground; but in an instant three soldiers—Sergeant John Baker, John B. Scheible, and Charles Fleckhammer—were struggling to gain the honor of bearing it aloft. The first achieved the mastery, and bore the colors for the remainder of the day. Another soldier—private William Shumaker—received a painful wound in the thigh, but persisted in remaining in the ranks, and had to be forced to the rear. It was while in this position that Lieutenant Colonel Dunn, of the Twenty-ninth Indiana, was captured as he was looking for reinforcements to hold the ground.

With the immediate advantage in position which our troops possessed it was evident the rebel columns could not withstand the fearful plying of shot and shell which they received at our hands, and at one time the repulse seemed accomplished: the columns halted, and it required the most strenuous exertions of their officers to prevent the men rushing pell-mell to the rear. The enemy retired slightly, and under

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for party interests, and grasped the sword which should restore the national unity.

He was a fluent speaker, a ready and vigorous writer, and always more anxious to be right than to be popular. He adorned every relation of life, was a generous companion, a kind friend, a dutiful son, an affectionate husband and father, a loyal citizen, and sealed his devotion to his country by sacrificing his life in its defence on the crimsoned field of carnage.





cover of an intervening ridge which partially protected him, reformed the columns and again moved forward by the flank until the centre of his line rested upon the right of the Seventy-ninth Illinois. He then moved directly upon the flank and rear of the line, pouring in volley after volley of musketry. Our men replied, firing at right oblique. until immediate retreat or capture was the alternative.

The retreat commenced. The Seventy-ninth Illinois first gave way, followed by the remainder of the second brigade, the enemy charging upon them with yells and a most galling fire. Simonson was here compelled to leave two of his guns, in consequence of the horses to those pieces having been killed or disabled. The line fell back rapidly to the timber in rear of its former position—the rebel infantry within short musket range, and a large cavalry force on its right flank. The retreat of the second brigade uncovered the right flank of the third brigade, and made its position critical. At this juncture, and when it seemed difficult to know what to do, another column—a detachment of the force in front—bore directly down upon the First Ohio in such a manner as to obtain an enfilading fire. No single body of troops could withstand it for a moment, and thus this regiment began its retreat, followed by the Sixth Indiana. At first it was orderly; but upon reaching the Louisville Legion, which was making a change of front for the purpose of again seeking to check the enemy, it became confused with that regiment,

and also with the Ninety-third Ohio, which had just been ordered to its support. The left of the Legion, however, speedily came into position, and delivered a deadly fire into the enemy's ranks ; but he moved right on, unchecked by the fiery billow. The line to the left of the Legion (a portion of the division of General Davis) then gave way, and retreat was the only means of safety. Another line was formed some two hundred paces in the rear, and one of great natural strength ; but the enemy sweeping steadily on, some unknown general gave the order for the entire line to retire still farther. Meantime the rebel batteries had taken position on the ground last abandoned, and threw solid shot and shell into the timber, which crashed terribly and seemed to excite fears of annihilation. The soldiers obeyed the new order to retreat with great alacrity, and on they sped, the double-quick being increased into a run, which was not checked until they emerged from these woods, crossed a cotton field, and entered the woods which skirt the Murfreesboro turnpike. As the Legion was retreating towards the centre of the army, near where General Rousseau was in line, Colonel Baldwin told Lieutenant Colonel Berry that there was a piece of artillery abandoned by some troops who should have taken it off. The enemy's batteries were playing on it continuously, apparently aiming to dismount it, but Berry was determined to save it. Captains Huston and Thomasson volunteered as the wheel-horses, and the regiment yoked to it, hauled it to the railroad,



where many of our troops had rallied and reformed their lines. General Rousseau met them on their way, and the command faced about and formed line of battle amidst the wildest acclaim.

During this last retreat one or two ineffectual stands were made, and the enemy was temporarily checked; but he soon rallied and moved in solid column, when resistance was useless. The third brigade was shortly afterwards moved up the railroad to the rear of General Rousseau's division—a position which was not assailed again that day. A portion of the First Ohio in its retreat was charged by a body of rebel cavalry which had massed on the right flank, and under Adjutant Davis and Lieutenant Dumbusch was repulsed with fearful loss and fled from the field.

The second brigade, like the third, retreated to the woods under a tremendous musketry fire, which killed scores of men. Colonel Dodge halted the command twice while it was moving through the timber; but the enemy moved so compactly, and being without support, he was compelled to retreat. The Seventy-ninth Illinois moving a little too far to the west, came within range of the rebel artillery, and was plied unmercifully with its fire. Soon the rebel infantry again came in on its flank, and seeing nothing but enemies, it fled precipitately until it reached a position near the Nashville turnpike. Here the brigade rallied and was joined by the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania. Simonson placed his four guns in battery,

and the brigade, now about five hundred strong, went to its support. It opened a heavy cannonade, which seemed to check the enemy; but in a few minutes afterwards his columns were observed moving off to the right. General Johnson then ordered the brigade to move one hundred and fifty yards to the right of the battery, and there, upon a splendid ground for defence, being along the crest of a ridge with a broken and rocky slope, it awaited the approach of the rebel column. It was the same that first attacked the brigade in the morning. On it came, as solid, as majestic, as bristling as ever; but this time it came to a banquet of death. Just at this timely moment a portion of General Van Cleve's division moved into position upon the left of the second brigade, and stood eager for the contest. In another moment one simultaneous fire rolled from this line, and cut down men by platoons. It was an unexpected attack—a reflux of victory. Their line staggered under the murderous volley, but soon reformed and advanced. Then Johnson and Dodge, fired with enthusiasm at the success just achieved, shouted, "Forward!" and with a yell the line rushed on the foe, determined to rout him or die. The charge was a fearful shock in battle, and its effects were terrible. The rebels were thrust back; our men, amidst shouts that filled the woods with a hideous din, charged upon them with the bayonet, and the enemy, seized with despair, fled from the woods, across the cotton field, and beyond the fence from which not an hour before they had





*J B Dodge*

COL. J. B. DODGE

so fiercely forced these same brave soldiers. Their retreat was covered with slain. Three days after this fiery conflict one hundred and seventy-nine rebel dead were buried in the field in front of where the second brigade dealt out to them such remorseless havoc.

Thus with the second brigade ended the conflict of Stone River; and surely it did its duty. The disaster of the morning was crowned by a signal success ere sunset. It had gloriously repulsed the very column which first discomfited it, and sent it howling to the protection of its wing. Its ammunition being exhausted, fresh troops continued to harass the enemy's retreat. No other demonstration was made on the immediate right front that day. Meantime the enemy's cavalry had worked well into our rear, and were making desperate exertions to destroy our trains. The brigade having now replenished its ammunition, moved to their support; but as the foe made no attack it was not again engaged.

The right wing was now reformed in line of battle, perpendicular to that of its original formation, and nearly parallel with the Nashville turnpike. The rebel General Hardee established his lines a few hundred yards to the west, and nearly parallel with our own. In this position both armies bivouacked for the night, throwing up breastworks of logs and stone for defence.

Let us now return to the beginning and trace the action of the first brigade in this perilous and san-

guinary contest. When the rebel column advanced to the attack of the Thirty-fourth Illinois, Colonel Gibson, the senior officer in the brigade, in obedience to instructions received from General Willich but a few minutes before, as he started for General Johnson's headquarters, proceeded to rally the reserves of the Thirty-second and Thirty-ninth Indiana to the support of the pickets in his front. These, like the rest of the command, were preparing breakfast; but they immediately seized their muskets and promptly moved forward to the front in support of their comrades. In another moment General Kirk's pickets gave way under the pressure of a murderous fire, and they uncovered the left flank of General Willich's line; but they soon reformed, and the pickets of the Thirty-ninth Indiana reconnected with those of the Thirty-fourth Illinois: at the same time a portion of the reserve of the Thirty-ninth united with the pickets and formed a strong skirmish line. This disposition was hardly completed before the rebel line, which had now obliques to the left, so that its centre rested at the juncture of the pickets of the two brigades, moved up on the double-quick, firing volley after volley of musketry with terrible effect, again forcing back General Kirk's pickets and interposing a single rebel line of three regiments abreast between that portion of the Thirty-ninth and the rest of the brigade. These companies, thus isolated, were in a dangerous strait, and came near being captured. Lieutenant Colonel Jones, commanding the





regiment, observing that the rebel line of battle was oblique to that of the right wing, and also under the impression that the first brigade would either move obliquely on the Thirty-ninth as a pivot, or place the battery in a position to enfilade the rebel lines as they advanced—partly to support such a movement of the troops, and partly to enable his command to rally on the reserve, directed Acting Major Herring to move the skirmish line by the right flank a short distance to the west, behind a fence, and there check the enemy. At the same time he sent Lieutenant Neal to a house which stood at the lower end of the fence, with directions to throw down some of the rails and show the companies where to commence filing to the right. Company A and portions of companies D and K only rallied to this position before the enemy, advancing with yells, opened a furious fire upon these companies. Right gallantly they replied, firing with rapidity and deadly aim. So effective was their fire that twice the rebel line halted and fell back; but rallying, again it moved forward. The contest was vastly unequal. Already Lieutenant Neal had fallen, mortally wounded, and more than half of the patriot band were either killed or wounded. They fought with desperate valor, until, despite the terrific fire they gave, three rebel standards were within thirty feet of the fence; when seeing no support coming to their aid, Jones ordered the remaining few to double-quick to a cedar thicket a few hundred yards to the rear and left. Here they

made another stand, fighting bravely and covering the retreat of Goodspeed's battery, under command of Lieutenant Belding, who, owing to the check given by the Thirty-second and Thirty-ninth Indiana, was enabled to hitch his horses and retire with four guns, two being abandoned—one because the horses were killed, and the other because of the breaking of the pole. The battery in its original position had done nothing, as the retreating troops were between it and the enemy. Belding and his men maintained their ground, waiting for their front to be uncovered, in order to fire, until the enemy was within fifty yards of the guns, when he beat a retreat. At the point of the cedars Colonel Jones learned that the five remaining companies of his regiment, under command of Captain Cody, had changed front and aided General Kirk, and had maintained their position until forced to abandon it. At first they retired in order, but pressed by the foe, and other regiments having retreated, they were soon thrown into confusion and pushed to the west with the rest. Jones soon perceived his colors in the distance, and at once ordered the companies with him to join them. At this juncture he met Colonel Gibson with his regiment, who had assumed command of the brigade since the capture of General Willich, and the two officers selected new and favorable ground on which to rally the two regiments.

When the firing commenced on the picket line of the first brigade, and the Thirty-ninth Indiana was

ordered to rally to the support of its pickets, Lieutenant Green, of General Willich's staff, directed Lieutenant Colonel Erdelmeyer, of the Thirty-second, who was protecting the extreme right flank, to withdraw his pickets and move up to the brigade, which then lay in his rear and towards General Kirk's brigade; but before he could form his reserve companies into line of battle, the enemy advanced firing, and driving all before him. The battery not daring to fire, for fear of killing our own men, and the enemy being close at hand, also retired at a rapid rate. The musketry of the enemy was also very severe on the Forty-ninth Ohio and the Eighty-ninth Illinois, as the oblique line in which he advanced enabled him to direct a cross fire upon those regiments. Seeing the extreme peril in which they were placed, the Fifteenth Ohio formed line of battle and opened on the enemy, firing six rounds, under cover of which the two regiments retired by the flank. The greater portion of the Forty-ninth moved to the point indicated when Colonels Gibson and Jones met, but the Eighty-ninth retired in some confusion about four hundred yards in a north-westerly direction, to the lane in which a section of Edgerton's battery had stood in the assault upon it. Here Lieutenant Colonel Hotchkiss placed in position the companies of Captains Comstock, Willett and Whiting, and Lieutenant Wells. The enemy advanced in solid column and encountered a well-aimed volley from the Eighty-ninth, which riddled him with balls and lowered his

colors. But this stand was momentary: the enemy was not halted, and the Eighty-ninth was obliged to retreat up the lane, some five hundred yards further, until it came to a little creek which crosses it, and here the companies of Captains Blake and Powell were placed in position, partially sheltered by a thicket which hedged the creek, and under cover of their steady fire, which materially checked the progress of the enemy, the other companies were enabled to cross and partially reform. It then continued up the creek for some distance, passing to the south-east of the division hospital, and here joined portions of the Fifteenth and Forty-ninth Ohio and Thirty-second Indiana; but meanwhile Major Hall was captured and Captain Willett was killed. The Thirty-second Indiana retreated in nearly the same course as the Eighty-ninth Illinois, only to the westward of the lane, thence up the creek to the point last mentioned. This regiment was accompanied by Lieutenant Belding, with one gun. The regiment halted frequently and opposed the enemy with great firmness, Belding's gun in the meantime checking his every attempt to flank the line. Nor was the rebel infantry the only force it had to contend against. The rebel cavalry, which in the morning had massed so heavily on the right flank of our line of battle, charged our troops again and again; and as the Thirty-second Indiana was moving to join the centre of our lines, detachments frequently attacked it, but the steadiness of the men, who, drawn up in square, boldly awaited

the onset of the cavalry, kept them well at bay. They cared not to charge those German bayonets! Finally it joined the rise of ground near the hospital, where were posted the Fifteenth and a portion of the Forty-ninth Ohio and the Eighty-ninth Illinois. As soon as the Fifteenth Ohio had by its fire covered the flank movement of the Forty-ninth Ohio and the Eighty-ninth Illinois—a position it maintained at the cost of many valuable men in killed and wounded, among the latter Lieutenant Colonel Askew,<sup>7</sup> Major McClanahan, Captain Douglas and Lieutenant Hillis—it commenced its retreat. Its course was through the open field to its rear and left. Arriving at a fence which divided the open field from a strip of timber, the regiment halted, and under its cover poured a steady fire upon the advance rebel column for some minutes, which decimated it fearfully, while its own loss was far from insignificant. The enemy then commenced to scale the fence on its flanks, when

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7. Lieutenant-colonel Frank Askew was born at St. Clairsville, Ohio, on the 9th of January, 1837, and graduated at Michigan University in June, 1859. When the rebellion began he was in the clerk's office of the county, and volunteered in a company directly after the President's Proclamation, in April, 1861. He was chosen second lieutenant and subsequently first lieutenant, and served in this capacity in Western Virginia, in the Seventeenth Ohio, a three months regiment. After the regiment was mustered out, in August, 1861, he, with the assistance of others, raised a company for three years or the war, and was chosen captain. The company was attached to the Fifteenth Ohio Infantry. He served in this capacity at the battle of Shiloh and the siege of Corinth. In November, 1862, he was appointed by Governor Tod lieutenant-colonel, and was severely wounded at the battle of Stone River. He recovered and rejoined the regiment the last of February, 1863, and was in command of it at Liberty Gap, Chickamauga and Mission Ridge. He is an able and faithful soldier, worthy of the promotions he has received, and possesses to an eminent degree the confidence of his command and his superiors.

it again retreated, but with much less confusion than before, keeping up a brisk fire upon the enemy, who closely followed. Soon it came to the position where it was joined by the regiment just referred to. Here Colonel Wallace found himself in command of the brigade, as Colonel Gibson, with a portion of his regiment and the Thirty-ninth, had become separated in the confusion of strife, and drifted to the westward. These regiments now together formed a new line of battle, which they maintained for upwards of an hour with great spirit, repressing the rebel tide, while repeatedly delivering and receiving a most withering fire. Lieutenant Belding, with his one gun, here did praiseworthy service. He fired it with admirable precision, and one time, in three successive shots, placed *hors de combat* more than one hundred of the enemy. But in this encounter the enemy, vastly superior in numbers, was finally successful in a flank movement, and forced the brigade back. Again, under a sleet of bullets the Fifteenth gave signs of unsteadiness, when Captain A. R. Z. Dawson, then commanding the regiment, seized the colors, and by his gallant bearing restored confidence in the ranks; and with a cheer that pierced the foe with distrust the brigade reformed its line of battle, and again hurled an avalanche of balls into the face of the enemy. For a moment his line was checked, and seemed on the point of retreat, but reformed in the teeth of a galling fire, and rushed forward with the madness of a demon. It was useless to attempt



to stem this surging tide, so the brigade steadily retreated, firing until it passed General Rousseau's lines, when it reformed and for some time held the enemy in check, but he at last forced back General Van Cleve's division on the right, which compelled another retreat. General Van Cleve changed his front, however, and in a few moments sent the foe disorganized and defeated from the field. The brigade now retired, replenished its ammunition, and bivouacked in rear of General Davis's division for the night.

It may be well now to inquire what fate befell the Thirty-ninth Indiana and the remaining portion of the Forty-ninth Ohio. When Colonels Gibson and Jones had selected the position on which they proposed to make the next resistance to the enemy, each hastened to rally his command—indeed Colonel Gibson hoped to rally the brigade. The Forty-ninth was still in full retreat, fighting obstinately all the way. Lieutenant Colonel Drake, a valued citizen and a faithful soldier, had already fallen, and Major Porter was severely wounded. The command devolved then on Captain Samuel F. Gray. Colonel Gibson's horse was shot, yet on foot he heroically struggled to concentrate the men. He succeeded in rallying only a portion of his own regiment, with some few squads of other men who were separated from their commands. Here he was joined by Lieutenant Colonel Jones, who by his reckless daring had braced his men to withstand the ordeal. A line was quickly

formed, and Lieutenants Day and Scoville, who had retreated with them, placed their guns in position and recommenced the engagement. The two regiments were isolated and alone, away on the extreme right. The enemy doubtless considered they were in the air, and prepared to reap the advantage of their isolation. The rebel column moved up with audacious purpose, and attempted to turn both flanks at the same time; but a murderous fire of musketry and artillery quickly brought it to a stand, and gave Colonel Gibson time to effect his retreat. At this juncture his second horse was shot, and he again conducted the movement for some time on foot. He fell back to the small creek before spoken of, and again reformed his line. The stand here was temporary, and as the enemy began to press heavily he retired across the creek and rallied under cover of a fence and a cedar thicket. The line as now formed was irregular and ranged somewhat *en echelon*, and as the enemy advanced each *echelon* delivered its fire with rapid and deadly aim, aided by the artillery, which plied his centre and flanks vigorously, and soon forced him across the open field in front—some of them, terrified at such resistance, throwing away their muskets as they ran. They soon reached their reserves, were halted, reformed and reinforced, supported by artillery, which threw a constant stream of shot and shell upon Colonel Gibson's line, and under cover of which they advanced, Gibson slowly falling back. He soon reached the Wilkinson turn.



pike, and formed his line adjacent to it and a little west of the ammunition train, which was there in park; and here occurred the most hazardous conflict of the day. The enemy had discovered the location of the train, and massed his forces for the purpose of capturing it. He advanced in heavy infantry lines on Colonel Gibson's left and centre, and threw a weighty mass of cavalry on his right flank. They advanced with a whoop and yell which was terrifying to hear. The cavalry charged with tremendous impetuosity, and despite the most stubborn resistance with the bayonet, the little band was in a moment more in their power, and certain capture appeared inevitable. Colonel Gibson's sword was demanded, but he refused to give it up, and skillfully defended himself. Here the battery lost another gun, the struggle over it being obstinate but unavailing. This unequal conflict, however, would soon have resulted disastrously to Gibson's brave men had not at that instant a few squadrons of our own cavalry, under an indomitable leader, dashed to their rescue. They charged upon the flanks of the enemy, and in a short but desperately bloody hand-to-hand encounter forced him to retire. This spirited charge saved the command, for while it was waging most of the infantry clubbed their muskets and fought their way through the dirty gray masses which surrounded them. The division train was then put in motion, and moved rapidly but in great disorder to the Nashville turnpike, the Thirty-ninth and Forty-ninth Infantry and

our cavalry still protecting it. The enemy's cavalry being reinforced, returned to the charge, and again the fighting became obstinate. It was a terrible scene. Along the turnpike were ranged our men; on it was a confused mass of teams, stragglers, camp *attaches* and negroes—all streaming to the rear amidst curses, cries and shouts, while in front was the enemy, endeavoring to break the line of steel presented against him, that he might capture or destroy the train, which, now concentrated into a confused and flying mass, afforded him excellent opportunity, and which, if successful, would be a serious loss to us. The enemy was at last foiled in his attempt and retired. Our losses in killed and wounded were considerable, but the enemy's were much greater. Some were killed by our teamsters, with the butt of their whip-stocks. It was here the Thirty-ninth Indiana lost its battle-colors. It struggled hard to maintain them, but human fortitude could no longer endure, and being repeatedly shot down, they were at last left in the hands of the foe. Here, too, Lieutenant Colonel Jones was surrounded and demanded to surrender; but preferring death to captivity, he snatched his pistols from the holsters of his saddle and fought his way out of their hands, killing and wounding several who attempted to shoot him. Such heroism is seldom displayed.


This attack repelled, Colonel Gibson directed his attention to the panic-stricken masses which thronged the turnpike. Here the cowards and stragglers from

the ranks were congregated, as were also many of those who were but slightly wounded. He soon met Colonel Walker with his brigade, who was hastening upon the same mission. A strong cavalry guard was placed across the road, the brigade formed in line and marched to the front, and every man capable of bearing arms was forced to fall in and move with it. Thus were saved to the army hundreds—yea, thousands of soldiers who had deserted their braver comrades all along the front in the heat of battle, and who, if left alone, would by their presence in Nashville, and by their exaggerated statements, have heralded the intelligence of a terrible disaster to our army. Many did get there, and from their accounts cowardly newspaper correspondents, who professed to write battle descriptions as if on the field, not only maligned the SECOND DIVISION, but indeed the entire Right Wing of the Army of the Cumberland.

The train being saved and the stragglers once more returned to the front, Colonel Gibson and his demi-brigade rejoined the division, reorganized his regiments, and, thirteen hundred strong, eagerly waited for the opening of the morrow's strife.

Thus fought the SECOND DIVISION in that eventful Wednesday's battle. For more than eight hours it resisted the engulfing wave of rebel prowess, contesting its advance by every obstacle possible, and so stubborn was this resistance that it did not reach the centre of our lines until about three o'clock in the afternoon. No where, in all that extended battle

front, was a firmer countenance presented; and no where did the enemy charge more desperately or meet with more disastrous receptions. The line of its retreat was marked with the lifeless bodies of its own and rebel soldiery. In some places the slaughter was frightful. The great fault of the day was in the too great extent of the Federal line, which absorbed so many troops that a reserve force of adequate strength was not secured: hence the overwhelming attack which General Bragg directed, first against the SECOND DIVISION, and then against the Right Wing, could not be maintained by the forces destined to that superhuman task. Generalship did not save the day on the 31st of December: it was saved by the dogged, obstinate resistance of commanders, acting to a great extent independently, and to the steadfastness of the men. They had ever been victorious, and they were determined that victory should yet crown their battle-flags, or they would die in the struggle. In the divisions of Generals Davis and Sheridan there was more uniformity of movement. In the SECOND DIVISION there was independent action. Sometimes one regiment would retire in a different direction from another, fighting the rebel columns harassing its retreat, halting, receiving the assaults, sometimes repelling them, at other times forced to yield and renew the retreat—each for a time divided from the other by the intervening foe, yet all struggling, and finally nearly all uniting, and in the end all victorious. This lack of uniformity in



action resulted—first, from the immediate disabling of General Kirk and the capture of General Willich ; secondly, from the great inequality of the ground, the diversity in shape and direction of its fields, woods and thickets ; and, thirdly, from the impossibility of the division commander to communicate with or concentrate all the brigades of the division into one position, because of the constantly flanking columns of the enemy, not only directed upon his own front, but upon the entire right wing. What could be done General Johnson did with intelligence and coolness, and the last position held by the second and third brigades proved what magnificent fighting could be done under a definitive leadership and unity in action.

On Wednesday night it rained, and the heavens overhead were as gloomy as the hearts of many of the soldiers who had endured so much under such adverse circumstances during the day. No fires were allowed, and many in the heat of the conflict had abandoned their knapsacks, blankets and shelter tents, so they must patiently endure their sufferings, hoping for the New Year and sunlight. At length the morning came, and with it the sunlight. By ten o'clock the clouds had rifted away, and a breeze from the north swept refreshingly over the earth and rapidly dried the mud. The sky became a clear, deep blue, and nature smiled lovingly on yesterday's field of carnage.

The result of the battle of Wednesday compelled a new adjustment of the Federal lines. The left

wing was retired some two hundred and fifty yards from its former position, the extreme left resting on Stone river, above what is termed the lower ford, and extending to Stokes's battery, in position near the Nashville railroad; the centre joining the left on Hazen's brigade, Rousseau's and Van Cleve's divisions, and the Pioneer brigade in front, with Negley in reserve; the left of the right wing, Walker's brigade, joining Van Cleve and resting near a commanding knoll; then came the SECOND DIVISION, then Sheridan's and Davis's divisions—the whole line running nearly north-west and refused to the right, resting along the slope of a ridge covered with a heavy cedar growth, Davis's division extending across and to the rear of the Nashville turnpike. The cavalry force was further down the turnpike to Overall's Creek. The formation of the right wing was in two lines, the second line and the first brigade of the SECOND DIVISION being held as a reserve.


The 1st of January passed without any general engagement, but great preparations were made for another battle. In the SECOND DIVISION the Thirty-fourth Illinois, under command of Captain Hostetter, was consolidated with the Thirtieth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel O. D. Hurd; and the Forty-ninth Ohio, Captain S. F. Gray, was merged into the Thirty-ninth Indiana. Walker's brigade also relieved General Van Cleve's division, which returned to the left wing. Early in the morning one of the enemy's batteries threw a few shells within our lines, but

Simonson opened in reply, and after firing a few shots it was silenced. About two o'clock in the afternoon the movements of the enemy indicated that he was massing on our extreme right, for the purpose of again testing it. Colonel Gibson was directed to reconnoitre the woods to his right and develop his intentions. The brigade moved rapidly and unobserved to the woods, and soon encountered his sharpshooters. It pressed on a little distance to the front, and discovered the enemy moving to the right, as if massing for an attack. Its mission accomplished it retired, but was harassed with shot and shell from several batteries, which fortunately did no harm. This movement was executed under the personal observation of Generals Rosecrans and McCook. Suspicion being confirmed, General Rosecrans determined to defeat the plan of the enemy; he therefore ordered Colonel Gibson to occupy the woods. This he did, forming the Fifteenth Ohio, Thirty-second Indiana and Eighty-ninth Illinois in line of battle, and the Thirty-ninth Indiana and Forty-ninth Ohio, under Lieutenant Colonel Jones, in reserve. The enemy's cavalry charged upon this position, but was gallantly repulsed by the skirmishers in front. General Rosecrans also placed a battery in position near Overall's Creek, and Negley's and a portion of Rousseau's divisions in their immediate front on the Nashville turnpike. This splendid manœuvring of the general-in-chief defeated the designs of the enemy, and he withdrew. It held this position until the

morning of the 2d of January, when it was withdrawn as a reserve. Meantime the other brigades of the division had been busily engaged in skirmishing with the pickets of the enemy and in erecting a rude breastwork of rails, logs and stone, which made an admirable defence and could have been maintained by a single line of troops. Our advance line had been greatly annoyed by the enemy's sharpshooters. In front was an open field some three hundred yards in width, and beyond a dense wood. On the edge of this were several houses, which the enemy occupied. Their fire becoming intolerable, Lieutenant Colonel Berry, of the Louisville Legion, ordered Captains Hurley and Lindenfelser to cross the field, drive the enemy and burn the houses. It was a hazardous expedition, but bravely they double-quickened to the task, amidst a steady stream of fire. Captain Huston hurried to their support. The houses were carried by assault and burned, and five of the rebels were left dead upon the ground. There was no more trouble from that quarter. Our loss was one wounded.

On the morning of the 2d of January the enemy opened his batteries on the centre, and made strong demonstrations of attack on the right; but a spirited artillery fire from our side defeated his object.

During the 1st of January General Crittenden had been ordered to occupy the point of land opposite the ford near which his left rested. He first sent a brigade, and soon afterwards Van Cleve's division, supported by a brigade of Palmer's.





About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d a double line of the enemy's skirmishers were seen to debouch from the woods beyond this point, in a south-easterly direction, and to advance across the open field to attack Van Cleve. These lines were soon followed by heavy masses of infantry, battalion front, supported by three batteries of artillery. A bloody battle was soon waged on Van Cleve's front. It was short but desperate. Van Cleve was forced to fall back, and his men rushed across the river in confusion, closely pursued by the enemy. The artillery of the left was now ranged to meet him, and a portion of the reserves, among which was the first brigade of the SECOND DIVISION, was ordered to their support. The enemy was pressing heavily, General Van Cleve's men still giving way, when Colonel Gibson was ordered to make a bayonet charge. The Eighty-ninth Illinois, Captain Williams, was ordered to the support of Stokes's battery, to aid Colonel John F. Miller in his splendid and decisive charge on the right of the enemy. The remainder of the first brigade charged the enemy on the left of our centre. It deployed and advanced in splendid style, cleared the field in its front, and reached the river, where it was ordered to halt. General Palmer being hotly engaged, soon after asked for reinforcements, and Colonel Gibson sent him the Thirty-second Indiana. This regiment moved by the right flank into a strip of timber on his right, and soon encountered the fire of the enemy. With a shout the Thirty-second

charged the foe and drove him to the edge of a hill in front. Here he was found posted in force, and the resistance became very severe. For a moment it seemed as if the Germans must give way, but they fought with determined bravery, and the Thirty-first Indiana coming to their assistance, both regiments charged, fiercely rushing on the enemy, trampling some of his men under foot, and driving him in great disorder across the river. The enthusiasm of the Germans was unbounded, and well it might be, for in conjunction with the gallant Colonel Miller, they had changed the fortunes of the day. The battle ended soon after, the rebels suffering terribly—losing in forty minutes more than two thousand men! The regiment held the ground it had gained until relieved by General Palmer's pickets, when it rejoined the brigade and returned to its position in reserve. Its loss in this brilliant affair was ten killed and twenty-seven wounded. Thus ended the active participation of the first brigade in this great battle.

At nine o'clock that night Colonel J. B. Dodge was ordered to take four companies from his brigade and the same number from the third brigade, and advance to his front until he reached the Franklin turnpike, or found the enemy in force. The night was intensely dark and rainy, and the route a rough one. It could not but make the stoutest heart quiver as it reflected on the mission to be performed. But not a man faltered in his trust. The eight companies were deployed as skirmishers, and cautiously moved

across the fields until they came to the woods on the opposite side. Here the enemy could be heard chopping timber and moving artillery and trains. Officers could also be distinctly heard giving commands to their men ; and Colonel Dodge, fearful of falling into a trap, ordered his men to fire. Suspicion was now confirmed, for the enemy instantly returned a most withering volley of musketry from at least ten times his number of men. Having thus ascertained that the enemy was in force in the woods, he returned to camp. Our loss was four wounded.


The 3d of January was a day of incessant rain, rendering the ground impassable for artillery, and it passed away in manœuvring troops and heavy skirmishing on the right and centre. The 4th was Sunday, and General Rosecrans cared not to open another battle on this day ;—he preferred to await attack from the enemy. But the skillful combinations of Rosecrans, the almost impregnable position our forces now occupied, the ease and celerity with which they could move to the attack of the enemy's position, the disastrous repulse which he encountered from the right wing, even after it was so discomfited, and the still more fatal repulse of Breckenridge on the 2d of January—all convinced the rebel general that he could not safely venture another engagement, for if he were again worsted he would not have the wherewithal to cover his retreat ; he therefore concluded to remove his army beyond Duck river, which he did during Saturday night and Sunday. On

Monday morning General Thomas pursued, driving the enemy's rear guard some seven miles towards Manchester and Shelbyville. The corps of Generals McCook and Crittenden followed, and took positions in front of the town.

Thus ended the battle of STONE RIVER. Seldom has a contest been so prolonged under such disheartening circumstances; seldom has the world witnessed a display of more obstinate bravery; seldom has victory been so triumphantly wrested from the hand of Fate. Napoleon's victory over Benningsen, at Eylau, was no more complete.

Owing to the capture of many of our wagon trains while *en route* from Nashville, subsistence was nearly exhausted, and the soldiers were fed principally on parched corn, and many actually roasted and ate horse flesh. The only thing which was plenty was ammunition—there being enough of that for another battle. The men were not as jubilant and enthusiastic as at Shiloh and Chaplin Hills; but they were full of confidence, and ready to renew the struggle. The *morale* of the army was not in the least impaired, and but for the overwhelming attack first made on the SECOND DIVISION—an attack which no troops in the world could have withstood—the battle would have been ended in a most crushing defeat to the rebel hosts.

The battle-field was a thrilling and terrible spectacle. There lay thousands of dead and dying, both friend and foe, cruelly mangled—more than a thou-



sand horses, dismounted artillery, broken carriages and caissons, and blackened homesteads. It was the melancholy result of a cursed rebellion—a scene which filled thousands of hearts with woe, and which in the Judgment Day should stamp the brand of a damning infamy upon the souls of its instigators!

Never before was the service of the medical and surgical departments so promptly executed. Surgeons braved danger nobly and suffered captivity that they might administer to our wounded. Many of the chaplains, too, were on the field and vied in heroism with the soldiers; and among those who stand conspicuous for noble daring and Samaritan kindness, none are more entitled to the gratitude of the soldiers and their friends, and the unfeigned admiration of the country, than Chaplain Michael Decker, of the Thirty-fourth, and Chaplain C. G. Bradshaw, of the Seventy-ninth Illinois regiments. They were where the fight raged thickest, and aided the unfortunates off the field; sometimes supporting one on each side. Many a life was saved by their efforts on that day.

The loss of the enemy in this engagement was very heavy. General Rosecrans in his official report computes it at fourteen thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners.<sup>8</sup> The loss in the

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8. General Braxton Bragg, in his official report, dated Tullahoma, February 28th, 1863, says: "*Our loss, it will be seen, exceeded ten thousand, nine thousand of whom were killed and wounded.*" He also left 2,800 wounded in Murfreesboro. The entire Federal loss was 1,533 in killed and 7,245 in wounded—a total of 8,778. Our loss in prisoners was 2,800. We captured 3,694.

have borne a meritorious part. \* \* \* It is expected that troops so distinguished will regard their colors as representing the honor of their corps—to be lost only with their lives; and that those who are not yet entitled to such a distinction will not rest satisfied until they have won it by their discipline and valor.”

In accordance with this order the General Commanding directs that the name of “STONE RIVER” be inscribed on the national colors of each regiment and the guidon of each battery that was engaged in the recent battle in front of this city. The General is proud to know that there was not a single regiment or battery which did not in that memorable conflict bear a meritorious part.

By command of Major General Rosecrans.

C. GODDARD,  
Assistant Adjutant General and Chief of Staff.

In view of the successful issue of this great battle, the grandeur and sublimity of the conflict, the nobility of his soldiers, and their steadfastness in the cause of the republic, the commander-in-chief might well render public acknowledgment to Almighty God in his official report, as did the great Sobieski, the conqueror of Osmanlis and the hero of Chocim, when upon his successful deliverance of Vienna from the Moslem siege, he exclaimed in gratefulness of heart—  
*“Non nobis, Domine! non nobis, sed nomine tuo, da gloriam!”*

## CHAPTER XV.

**MURFREESBORO—NEW DESIGNATION OF CORPS—LABOR  
ON THE FORTIFICATIONS—THE ROLLS OF HONOR  
AND THE LIGHT BATTALIONS—AFFAIR AT MIDDLE-  
TON—CHANGE IN FLAGS—THE FORWARD MOVE-  
MENT—BIOGRAPHY OF BRIGADIER GENERAL RICHARD  
W. JOHNSON.**

MURFREESBORO is situated upon high and rolling ground, and is on the east bank of the west fork of Stone river. Previous to the war it boasted a population of some five thousand inhabitants, and was possessed of much gentility and refinement. It is the seat of a college—an institution of much merit heretofore, and which has the unenviable honor of having graduated some men now conspicuous for their treason. It has several very substantial public buildings, among which the Court House is the finest specimen of architecture. It is the centre of a rich agricultural section, and cotton is a heavy staple in its trade. From it diverge many turnpikes and roads,

communicating with all the principal places in Middle Tennessee; indeed it is considered the military key of that country. As such it has been in the possession either of the Union or rebel forces ever since the outbreak of the rebellion. Upon the encampment of our army in its front General Rosecrans hastened to avail himself of its commanding heights to secure a strong defensive position. A proportionate part of the army was detailed for the work, and to-day every knoll is crowned with a fortification. North, south, east and west these works present their fronts, some twenty in number, and from their strength and extent they seem to scorn the idea that they can ever be stormed or reduced. They are all of earth, and present tufted slopes, which in summer give them a very beautiful appearance. The highest skill in the engineering art directed their construction, and the timber of the surrounding country was lavishly used to insure its power of resistance to the enemy's shot and shell. These were all mounted with guns of heavy calibre, and it is the opinion of able military men that the town is invincible to assault.<sup>1</sup>

Meantime General Morton and his pioneer brigade rebuilt the railroad bridge across the river. The country was foraged for miles around, to aid in subsisting the army; and the grist mill in the town was

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1. It would be obviously improper to give a specific description of the position or construction of these fortifications at the present time, inasmuch as the enemy have never yet possessed them, and therefore it is withheld.



put in order, and did much towards supplying the troops with meal. The rainy season also set in, and the Cumberland river, swollen by the rains, teemed with transports laden with supplies. It was resolved to make Murfreesboro an intermediate depot of supplies, as a base for future operations; and immense quantities of provisions, sufficient to subsist the army for a year, were concentrated and stored in the vast magazines. It thus became proof against assault and siege. The camp of the SECOND DIVISION was for some time on the Shelbyville turnpike, which was directly south, crossing at Guy's Gap a chain known as Coffee Hills, about seven miles from Murfreesboro. This gap was the scene of several brilliant skirmishes during the months of January and February, as the SECOND DIVISION—in fact General McCook's corps—procured from that section the forage for its public animals. Our losses were always slight, and also the enemy's generally. On one or two occasions, however, they assumed the dignity of "affairs," and were prolonged into engagements lasting two and three hours. The SECOND DIVISION participated in many, but they were not of such importance as to demand special mention.

Shortly after moving into Murfreesboro the War Department again remodeled the army, forming it into three *corps d'armes*.<sup>2</sup> The troops under General

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2. From the 23d of January to the 11th of February General Johnson was in command of the Twentieth Army Corps, and Colonel Gibson in command of the division.

Thomas were entitled the Fourteenth, those under General McCook the Twentieth, and those under General Crittenden the Twenty-first Army Corps.

On the 7th day of February the second brigade, Colonel J. B. Dodge,<sup>8</sup> was detailed to work upon the fortifications, and removed its camp a little west of the town, and near the Nashville road, but still upon the east bank of the river. Here it engaged in the construction of a fort, which it completed on the 7th of June—a work which redounded much to its credit, and which was considered one of the strongest of that stronghold. The other brigades of the division remained in their position on the Shelbyville pike, and performed the duties usual to soldiers in camp, until early in April, when they were moved to a position north of the Franklin turnpike and near the second brigade. The new encampment was styled


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8. Colonel J. B. Dodge was born on the 3d of June, 1830, in Yates county, New York, and is the son of a prominent Methodist minister of that State. Like many ministers' sons, he was of a wild, restless disposition, and at sixteen years of age he ran away from home and came to Warsaw, Indiana, where he has ever since resided. He studied law, and was in due time admitted to practice in the courts of that State. He has held many responsible offices in his county, and in 1856 was a candidate for state treasurer; and again, in 1858, for state agent, but was defeated by a small majority each time. When the call was made for three months' troops, he raised two companies for that campaign; but knowing nothing of military tactics, he declined leading them. When the call was made for three years troops, he assisted in recruiting the Thirtieth Indiana, and was appointed its lieutenant-colonel. At Shiloh he displayed coolness and ability, and commanded the regiment upon the fall of Colonel Bass. Upon Bass's death he was promoted colonel of the regiment. At Stone River he won distinction for his daring and energy, and upon the fall of General Kirk assumed command of the brigade. He was specially mentioned in the official reports of General Johnson, McCook and Rosecrans, and recommended for promotion. At Chica-mauga he again commanded the brigade, and was again mentioned in the reports of superior commanders.

Camp Drake, in honor of the lamented Lieutenant Colonel Levi Drake, of the Forty-ninth Ohio, who nobly fell in the battle of Stone River.

On the 14th of February General Rosecrans, who had a real Napoleonic pride for his army, issued an order establishing a ROLL OF HONOR, which, to use the language of the order, should point out "to this army and the nation those officers and soldiers of this command who shall distinguish themselves by bravery in battle, by courage, enterprise and soldierly conduct, and also to promote the efficiency of the service."

The regimental "Roll of Honor" embraced the names of five privates from each company, and ten corporals and ten sergeants from the regiment. The brigade "Roll of Honor" was composed of the regimental rolls, and in addition thereto the names of four lieutenants, four captains, and two field officers below the rank of colonel, most distinguished for gallantry in action, professional knowledge, skill, and zeal in the performance of duty. The Army Corps "Roll of Honor" was a consolidation of the brigade rolls, and in addition thereto the names of general, field and staff officers who should win especial distinction by noble and heroic conduct: and further, each brigade was to organize a LIGHT BATTALION, to be formed from its "Roll of Honor" by the general commanding, consisting of three privates from each company, one commissioned officer, two sergeants and three corporals from each regiment, and one field officer from each brigade, who should command the



battalion. This battalion was to be furnished with rifled arms and mounted.

The motive which inspired General Rosecrans thus to acknowledge the merits of his soldiers was highly commendable, and perhaps did much to render him popular with them. He was proud of his army, for all were illustrious in arms—heroes of some hard-fought field—Pea Ridge, Shiloh, or Chaplin Hills—and all of Stone River. They, too, had the greatest confidence in him. They admired his *personnel*, his gallantry and daring, his determination and his generalship, and impatiently awaited the time when, under his guidance, they should be led to new battle grounds and other victories.

In his order organizing the Light Battalions he said :

“They will be looked upon as the *elite* of the army and models for their profession, and from them will be expected such deeds of daring and enterprise as will prove them worthy of the distinction conferred upon them, and justify the choice of their companions.”

The SECOND DIVISION had its full complement of names in these organizations ; and had the occasion ever presented itself, they would doubtless have justified the high expectation the commanding general entertained of them.

During March the enemy appeared in heavy force along our front, and General Van Dorn laid siege to Franklin. The enemy also made several demonstrations on the troops at Murfreesboro, advancing with

a considerable force, and attacking our outposts on the Salem and Middleton roads. General Sheridan was speedily sent to the aid of Granger, beleagured at Franklin, and a reconnoissance was ordered upon the roads leading from Murfreesboro. Colonel Post's brigade of General Davis's division was posted at Salem as a corps of observation. Colonel Heg's brigade, also of General Davis's division, moved down the Shelbyville road, while the first brigade of the SECOND DIVISION, Lieutenant Colonel Jones commanding, moved to the right of Heg and down the Middleton road. They soon encountered a heavy cavalry force of the enemy, and a spirited engagement ensued. The brigade behaved most nobly, and Goodspeed's battery did splendid execution. Every attempt of the enemy to charge and break the lines was fruitless, and each time he was sent back with loss. Several times he sought to outflank the line, but was as often defeated. Finally, after a sharp conflict of nearly two hours he was repulsed and driven in disorder towards Shelbyville. This affair (termed Middleton, in memory of the engagement) was the theme of much comment, and excited the admiration of the army. It proved that the men of the brigade were soldiers, and unless overwhelmed as they were at Stone River, could maintain their older reputation. So pleased was Major General Rosecrans with their conduct that he ordered a letter of thanks to be addressed to the brigade commander, which was as follows :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, }  
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE, MARCH 13, 1863. }

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL F. A. JONES, COMMANDING FIRST BRIGADE,  
SECOND DIVISION, TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS:

SIR: The general commanding directs me to say that he has read with great satisfaction the report of the handsome service performed by the brigade under your command on the 6th and 7th instant. He thanks you and the troops under your command for the gallantry and spirit displayed by all concerned, and the promptness and courage which characterized all their movements on that occasion. You will please convey to them the good opinion which the general commanding entertains of their conduct.

I am, Colonel, your obedient servant,

HENRY STONE,  
Lieutenant and Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

On the 27th of January Colonel Harvey M. Buckley, of the Louisville Legion, resigned his commission, and Colonel Baldwin, of the Sixth Indiana, again assumed command of the brigade; but on the 20th of February he was relieved by Colonel Edward A. Parrott,<sup>4</sup> of the First Ohio. On the 17th of April Colonel Baldwin again assumed command, which he

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4. Colonel Edward A. Parrott was born on the 30th of November, and was educated at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. He studied law in the office of Samuel Craighead, Dayton, Ohio, for two years, and then went to the Dane Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He afterwards gave up the study of the law to engage in business with his father at Dayton, Ohio. In the fall of 1859 he was elected on the republican ticket to the Ohio Legislature, where he was ranked as a conservative. He resigned his seat to go into the service on the 16th of April, 1861. He served with credit through the three months' service, and was engaged in the battles of Shiloh, the siege of Corinth, and the affair at Dog Walk. At intervals he was in command of the brigade, and for some time was inspector general on the staff of Major General McCook. He resigned the service early in 1864.

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retained until his death. There were a few other temporary changes among the brigade commanders, but none of a permanent nature.<sup>5</sup>

The establishment of the Light Battalions, of which General Rosecrans hoped so much, proved to be of short duration. The authorities at Washington opposed the organization, and thereupon the following order was issued disbanding them :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, }  
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE, APRIL 24, 1863. }

[ *General Orders No. 99.* ]

The general commanding finding that the War Department objects to the organization of the light battalions from the rolls of honor, as contemplated by paragraph II, General Orders, No. 19, current series, from these headquarters, directs :

That those whose names appear on the rolls of honor remain on duty with their respective commands, and that they be distinguished, when on military duty, by wearing a red ribbon tied in the button hole or attached to the coat over the left breast.

The issue of first class fire arms, provided for in General Orders, No. 19, will be made as soon as practicable.

By command of Major General Rosecrans.

C. GODDARD, Assistant Adjutant General.

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5. The following changes occurred in the first brigade :—After General Willich's capture, December 31st, 1862, Colonel William H. Gibson assumed command of the brigade. On the 17th day of January, 1863, he was succeeded by Colonel William Wallace. Lieutenant colonel Jones was in command from January 26th, 1863, to March 8th, 1863. Colonel William Wallace was again in command from March 8th, 1863, to March 11th, 1863. Colonel Gibson resumed command March 11th, 1863, and retained it until the return of Brigadier General Willich, on the 14th day of April, 1863. General Willich continued in command until the general re-organization, October 10th, 1863. In the second brigade, Colonel Dodge returned home on sick leave about the middle of May, and Colonel T. E. Rose succeeded in command of the brigade. He was relieved by Colonel John F. Miller.

On the 25th of April the flags which had been prescribed to designate the different headquarters not being sufficiently marked to readily distinguish them from each other, they were changed as follows: The corps—a bright red flag, fringed, with a black eagle in the centre, with the number “20” on the shield. The division flags the same color as that of the corps, with two stars to represent the number of the division. The brigade flags the same as that of the division, with the number of the brigade in white in the centre of each star. These colors were highly valuable, as they served to distinguish every command in the army when on the field of battle.

By the 1st of June the fortifications were completed and everything in readiness for another forward movement. The soldiers hailed the indications with pleasure, and joyfully sang of the “good time coming,” when they should again defeat the rebels, and drive them once more beyond the Tennessee.

On the 7th of June the second brigade was relieved from its labors on the fortifications by order of Major General Rosecrans, and reported to the division commander. On the 20th Colonel John F. Miller, of the Twenty-ninth Indiana, returned to his regiment, and by virtue of his rank assumed command of the brigade. He had long been away, but in the meantime he had achieved a brilliant name, won by his heroism and ability displayed on the battle-field. He was sincerely welcomed. Finally, General Johnson issued the following address to his command:



HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS, }  
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE, JUNE 23, 1863. }

**SOLDIERS OF THE SECOND DIVISION:** When you last met the enemy he was in such overwhelming force that you were compelled to fall back under his murderous fire. It is not at all likely that such will be the case at your next meeting. Let each man in the division feel that the reputation of his company, regiment, brigade and division rests upon him. The memory of those brave spirits whose bones are now bleaching on the bloody field of Stone River should nerve every man to deeds of daring. Keep up your organization under all circumstances; obey your officers: aim low and deliberately.

Kentuckians! You are fighting for your very existence. Should this rebellion succeed, your happy homes will be destroyed, and you will be forced to seek homes among strangers. Soldiers from Ohio, Illinois and Indiana! if the rebellion is not crushed, your borders will be drenched with the blood of your kindred and friends. Perpetual war will exist on your frontier. Noble Pennsylvania has sent her gallant sons to assist you, and now *strike for freedom!* deal a blow with an iron hand, and one that will materially contribute towards peace; and when the clash of arms is no more heard, you will return to your happy homes and a grateful country will love to honor you.

R. W. JOHNSON, Brigadier General.

The soldiers knew that the hour had come for which they had been long waiting, and this address was hailed with cheers and shouts, which gave assurance that the element of a true and invincible courage still existed, and would prove itself in glorious deeds of daring when the clarion of battle called to arms!

Here, once more, we break the current of the narrative, in order to place upon record a memorial of one of the brave and true men who held high command in the "OLD SECOND DIVISION." Every loyal





Engraved by J. H. Johnson

P. M. Johnson  
Princeton

American heart must cherish with pride and affection the names of those of her sons who, when the "ship of State" was suddenly tossed upon the wild sea of national disruption and wreck, rejected with noble scorn treason's proffered pledges of gold and fame; but who, true to their country and the government under which they had been reared and learned the priceless worth of constitutional freedom, spurned every effort to change their "old love for a new," and asserted boldly and unequivocally that they were proud to claim the name of American citizens—that as such they had lived and as such, God willing, they would die. Such an utterance, when proclaimed in the face of danger, and when one is at the mercy of his enemy, betokens the highest type of moral courage. Such a man is not merely the hero of to-day, but of all coming time. Such a man is the subject of this brief sketch.

RICHARD W. JOHNSON was born in Livingstone county, Kentucky, on the 7th of February, 1827. His father, Reverend Doctor James Johnson, was one of the original settlers in Southern Kentucky. He died on the 17th of December, 1837, after which Richard was removed to the family of his brother, Doctor Felix G. Johnson, who died on the 4th of February, 1842. He was again removed to the family of another brother, Doctor John M. Johnson, and through his instrumentality was appointed, when eighteen years of age, a cadet at the West Point Military Academy.

Young Johnson had enjoyed the advantages of a common country-school education only, and when he arrived at the military school he found he must compete for honors with young men already scholars and thoroughly disciplined in mental training. He was not disheartened, however. His clear mind, entirely unbiassed by any distinction of social position, at once comprehended the true nature of the difficulties to be surmounted, in order to rank as an equal in the end. Earnestly and successfully he applied himself to the task, and graduated with honor in the class of 1849. Among the members of this class were many whose names to-day are "familiar as household words" to our countrymen—such as Major Generals Parke and Gillmore, Brigadier Generals Baird and Saxton. Alas! that many, too, of this able class should have thrown the weight of their names and talents in favor of the Confederate cause.

On receiving his commission as brevet second lieutenant in the Sixth United States Infantry, on the 1st of July, 1849, Johnson was ordered on duty at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. He arrived at this post and reported for duty on the 4th of October ensuing. Here he remained during the following winter. In early spring of 1850 he was detached in command of a company of the Sixth Infantry, joining an expedition under Major Samuel Woods, of that regiment, against the Indians, at that time marauding on the frontier of Iowa. The expedition was entirely successful, and the command returned to Fort Snel-

ling in September, 1850. On his return he had the pleasure of finding his commission as second lieutenant of the First Infantry awaiting him. Thus was he rewarded for the labor and privations experienced in the campaign of the frontier.

On the 30th of October, 1850, Lieutenant Johnson was married to Miss Rachel E. Steele, daughter of General James Steele, of Pennsylvania, an officer in the war of 1812. She was a young lady of much beauty and rare accomplishments, and his success in winning her affections was alike creditable to both parties.

Soon after his marriage he was ordered to join his regiment at Fort Duncan, on the Rio Grande. He reported for duty on the 12th of January, 1851, and at once entered into active service. He was with his command in all the Indian campaigns, and in several of these engagements displayed such skill and gallantry as to attract the especial attention of General Winfield Scott, who complimented him in "General Orders." On the 3d day of March, 1853, he was appointed adjutant of the First Infantry. In this capacity he discharged every official duty with fidelity and impartiality, gaining the confidence of all.

On the 3d of March, 1855, he was appointed first lieutenant in the Second Cavalry—a new regiment organized by Congress while Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War, and was ordered to report to Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, of the Second Cavalry, at Louisville, Kentucky.

Johnson, as adjutant of the First Infantry, made an excellent staff officer. His strict deportment, courteous bearing, pleasing address, thorough business qualifications and gallant conduct gained him many friends, and not a few able men predicted for him future success.

Colonel Johnston had already learned the character of Lieutenant Johnson, and when he arrived he appointed him regimental quartermaster upon his staff. Again his business capacity was taxed to the utmost; but, as ever before, he was competent for the trust. By the 1st of October, 1855, he had the regiment thoroughly equipped and ready for the field.

On the 27th of October the War Department ordered the regiment overland to Texas, where it arrived on the 27th of December, having been only two months on the march. Johnson continued to hold the position of quartermaster until the 1st of December, 1856, when he was promoted to the captaincy of company F, Second Cavalry. He at once assumed the command, and was almost constantly engaged in pursuing the Indians, then so troublesome on the Texas frontier, until the rebellion rushed like an avenging demon upon the land, and destroyed all further attempts for protection.

Then came a time which tried men's souls. The question was now to be determined whether the citizens of this republic owe paramount allegiance to the State or the Nation: in a word, whether the State authority is superior to the Federal power—the doc-

trine of "State Rights" the true criterion of government, and the national authority a farce. In Texas, as elsewhere, many officers declared for State allegiance—a few only for the system of "*E Pluribus Unum*."


At this critical juncture Major General David E. Twiggs, a soldier in our army for more than forty years, and next in rank to Winfield Scott, basely deserted the flag of his country—that country which had honorably rewarded his every service,—and disgracefully compromised the honor of the Federal troops, by virtually surrendering them to the Confederate power. By an arrangement between General Twiggs and the "Committee of Safety" (!) appointed by the Texas treasonable convention, it was stipulated that the troops should march from Texas by way of the coast, the cavalry and infantry to retain their arms, and the artillery companies (two batteries of light artillery, of four guns each) with the necessary means of subsistence and transportation while on the march to the coast. Thus the Texans triumphed. "By this arrangement," said they, "we are freed, without bloodshed or trouble, from the presence of the Federal troops. They can not go to New Mexico or Kansas, to fix free-soilism on the one, or to be the nucleus of a Northern army in the other, to menace our frontier in the future."

Twiggs's apology for so base a betrayal of his high trust, so disgracefully compromising the national honor, and surrendering the Government stores,



valued at a million and a half of dollars, was that it was done "to avoid the possibility of a collision between the Federal and State troops." How imbecile, how idiotic to think, for a single moment, that the American people would submit, without striking a blow in its defence, to a dismemberment and partition of the republic! Retribution followed close upon the heels of this foul treason. As soon as the War Department was informed of his proceedings it ordered him to be dismissed from the rolls of the army forever.

And here, at the very outset of the rebellion, the Texan Government violated its plighted faith. Even the almost complete surrender of Twiggs failed to satisfy its avaricious maw. Like the horse-leech it continually cried, "*Give! give! give!*" The Federal troops were there for the protection of the Texans against the incursions and cruelties of the Indians; they were therefore scattered here and there along the frontier for a distance of at least twelve hundred miles. To reach the coast when it must be gained by a passage through the enemy's country, was no ordinary task, for every step was environed with perils. While on the march to the coast rebel emissaries constantly plied them, offering every temptation which their minds could invent, with the hope of seducing officers and men to renounce their loyalty to the old Government, and lend their arms in support of the Confederate cause; but in general bribes and pledges, though emanating from the Con-




federate War Department, intimidations and threats, each and all, were discarded, denounced and defied ; and finally the Federal troops, led by the few remaining loyal officers, reached the coast.

At Indianola, a small town on the coast, where the troops embarked, gigantic efforts were again made to secure their services. Van Dorn, who had been captain in the Second Cavalry with Johnson, but who deserted his trust for the commission of colonel in the rebel army, used every argument and bribe which a fertile mind could invent or a corrupt heart propose, to induce his old command to follow his fortune, his star to glory and fame ; but with all his shrewd craftiness he signally failed. Johnson and a few other officers baffled every attempt of the wily colonel to swerve them from their true allegiance ; nor did it need much persuasion to keep the men in the line of duty—they were equally patriotic. They saw in Johnson and others sincere leaders, and thus felt secure.

Johnson with his command, as well as some other detachments of Federal troops, escaped ; but many who were later in coming did not. Van Dorn, failing in his arts of seduction, in violation of his solemn pledges, soon resorted to force and captured all who came within his power. These were paroled and for a long time retained as prisoners of war.

In the Texan troubles Johnson's character assumes the heroic. True, he did only his duty as a citizen of the republic, whose constitution and laws he had

sworn to defend and maintain. But man is human : to err is human. Ambition for a name, for fame, or for pelf, and especially the dazzling fame which ever clusters around the military hero, is a terrible temptation to renounce what may be termed *duty to the State*, a body politic, when allegiance to it may seem to be the sacrifice of glory and power. True ethics are too often discarded, and the doctrine of "policy," "expediency" and "interest" adopted—not only in politics, but in personal affairs. How, then, can the State be pure if the individual is impure? How can the stream run clear when the fountain is muddy? To denounce the one is to condemn the other; and in this just condemnation you ascend to the source of the evil—the *heart* of the individual. Therefore, he who in the revolution of government, in the conflict of political opinions, prejudices and passions, when the flashing meteor, FORTUNE, suddenly crowns some and blasts others, tramples under foot all these seductive influences, crushes the base incentives to pride, stands clearly and boldly by the old landmarks of government and society, asserts his principles and persistently vindicates from his sense of right the justice of his cause, not only among friends but among *enemies*, such a man displays true nobility of character—that attribute akin to perfection—pure moral heroism, and character thus exemplified will ever receive from the American people the reward such patriotism merits. Indeed it were ungrateful to deny it.



Having arrived safely in New York, he proceeded with his company to the barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where it and several others were reorganized and mounted under Major George H. Thomas. Soon after four companies, under Major Thomas, were ordered to report to Major General Patterson, at Chambersburg, in that State.

The national defection had caused fearful decimation among the officers of our army, and the Second Cavalry was especially unfortunate in its loss. The most distinguished generals of the Confederate army were from this command—Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Hardee, Van Dorn, E. Kirby Smith and Hood. Thomas, Stoneman and Palmer remained true to their old allegiance, and have reflected honor upon the national arms.

Johnson continued with General Patterson during his command of the Federal troops, and was in the battle of Falling Waters. Soon after the disastrous battle at Bull Run General Patterson was relieved by General Banks. In September following Johnson received permission from the War Department to accept the position of lieutenant colonel in the Third Kentucky Cavalry, Colonel J. S. Jackson commanding, and at once repaired to his native State and entered upon his duties. Upon Buckner's advance on Louisville he headed the "Home Guard" of that city, and reported at Lebanon Junction, on the Louisville and Nashville railroad, to Brigadier General W. T. Sherman. Here Johnson rendered valuable

service, for which he was recommended to the President for promotion to a brigadier-generalship by General Sherman. President Lincoln at once conferred the appointment upon him, and he was commissioned on the 4th of October, 1861. In obedience to orders he reported to General A. McD. McCook, at Camp Nevin, and was assigned the command of a brigade in the SECOND DIVISION.

When at Columbia General Johnson was taken sick and compelled to leave the field. The division meantime moved forward to Savannah, and engaged in the decisive battle of the 7th of April, at Pittsburg Landing. Here Johnson's brigade, under command of Colonel William H. Gibson, an accomplished volunteer officer, won imperishable honor and reflected great credit upon Johnson, as his thorough discipline, careful attention to drill, and all that relates to the soldiers' art had prepared them to behave most handsomely all through that fiery ordeal.

General Johnson resumed command of his brigade on the 13th of April, and in the advance on Corinth was engaged in several skirmishes, in which he was always successful; the last of these affairs, Bridge Creek, being quite important. After the evacuation of Corinth he continued with the brigade until its arrival at Battle Creek, Tennessee. Here he was temporarily assigned by General Buell to the command of cavalry, and organized an expedition for the pursuit of John Morgan, then maurading in Central Tennessee and Kentucky. After an amount of

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energy and privation worthy of a better result, he found and engaged the enemy, and was defeated and captured with a small portion of his command. The greater part of it escaped and arrived safely in Nashville in irregular squads. General Johnson was immediately paroled, but was not exchanged until the 1st of December in that year. As soon as exchanged he reported to Major General Rosecrans for duty, and was assigned to the command of the SECOND DIVISION, Right Wing, Fourteenth Army Corps, and General Sill was formally relieved in command on the 10th of December. It was with proud satisfaction that he again returned to the old division, and assumed command of troops whom he knew were tried and true soldiers.

The 26th of December came, and the army was in motion, and on the 31st instant came the fearful battle of Stone River. The disaster to the Right Wing elicited much discussion, and many sought to throw the blame on General Johnson. In times of defeat, disaster or ruin, the malignant, the thoughtless and the imprudent are swift to condemn. Many officers and soldiers, forgetful of their position or the responsibilities of the place—forgetful of the swift-coming tempest, which might well make the stoutest heart tremble and carry confusion into the ranks—forgetful of the situation in rallying regiments and brigades to a common centre, when forced in different directions by the movements of the enemy, accused him of "imbecility" and "treason!" and the public press

lent its mighty power in the circulation of these inuendoes and accusations, thus defaming and blasting a reputation dearer than life—THE HONOR OF A SOLDIER. General Johnson knew the disrepute into which so many were seeking to plunge him ; but, like one conscious of committing no wrong, he pursued the even tenor of his way, administering his affairs with the same impartiality as before, aiming to execute that perfect justice upon which alone the good name of every body of troops must be maintained, and confidently awaiting the impartial judgment of reason upon a *survey of facts*, well satisfied that then the reproach of “*imbecility*” and “*treason*” would die as speedily as it had its being. Nor was he disappointed. The cause of the disaster to the Right Wing was thoroughly investigated by his superior officers, but no shadow of blame attached to him. It was the result of a concurrence of circumstances entirely beyond his control, either of foresight or prevention. Major General McCook, in his official report of the action, said : “To Brigadiers R. W. Johnson, Philip H. Sheridan and Jefferson C. Davis I return my thanks, for their gallant conduct on the day of battle, and for their prompt support and conscientious attention to duty during their service in the Right Wing. I commend them to my superiors and my country.” And Major General Rosecrans, referring to General Johnson in his official report, said : “He ought to be made a major general in our service.”

Such was his standing with his superior officers, thus was the charge of "imbecility" swept away, and thus did justice triumph. Officers and soldiers who through mistaken zeal for our cause had impugned his character soon found the error of their former judgment, softened the asperity of their criticisms, and in a short time gave him the full confidence of loyal men and true soldiers. Had they known of his noble stand when tempted in Texas, the calumny would never have been uttered, the wrong had never been done. Well might he have been cheered during these dark hours of suspicion by the beautiful and noble stanza of William Cullen Bryant, in his poem "The Battle Field:"

" Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,  
And blench not at thy chosen lot :  
The timid good may stand aloof,  
The sage may frown—yet faint thou not !"

Nothing of special importance occurred after the battle of Stone River until the general advance on Bragg at Tullahoma. The details of this movement are fully recorded elsewhere, and reflect a brilliant reputation upon General Johnson and his command. On the arrival of the SECOND DIVISION at that place it was stationed there as a post garrison, with General Johnson in command. This was a highly important position, but he proved true and eminently qualified for the high trust.


Again, on the 16th of August, 1863, came the advance upon the rebel stronghold at Chattanooga, ending in the fearful carnage of Chickamauga and



the occupation of that important point. In this engagement General Johnson was more conspicuous than ever before. He was daring even to recklessness, coolest when bullets flew thickest, quick in foreseeing danger, rapid in providing means to avert it, abundant in resources and master of his profession. To him in a great extent the army owed its salvation in that bloody struggle, and impartial history will yet accord him a fame commensurate with this valuable service.

Upon the dissolution of the SECOND DIVISION he was assigned to the command of the first division of the "Fourteenth Army Corps"—a division formerly commanded by the brave, distinguished, but now lamented Major General O. M. Mitchell, and afterwards by the chivalric General Rousseau. This new command he led in the ever-memorable engagement of Missionary Ridge. This brilliant and perfectly successful achievement is familiar to every one in the land. General Johnson's division did its full share towards that glorious consummation, and he added fresh laurels to his brow, and a brighter fame to his name. He still commands this noble division. His present rank in the regular army is major of the Fourth Cavalry.

In personal appearance General Johnson is prepossessing, if not handsome. He is tall, robust, and athletic in frame. His countenance is always pleasing, his carriage graceful and dignified. In public business he is ever faithful, laborious and skillful.




Few military men in our army are more thoroughly familiar or more polished in the duties of the profession. In discipline he is strict, but not severe. His high and generous qualities win the affection of the soldiers, while his keen sense of justice ever gains their respect and esteem. In battle he is cool—in victory unassuming. His career as a soldier in the rebellion, though chequered at first by disaster, is now crowned with honor. May his future be as glorious as the past!

## CHAPTER XVI.

POSITION OF BRAGG'S ARMY—PLAN OF THE FEDERAL CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF LIBERTY GAP—OCCUPATION OF TULLAHOMA—DISASTROUS EFFECT OF THE REBEL RETREAT.

THE location of the enemy's army had become thoroughly understood. The main infantry force was in position north of Duck river, its right resting at War Trace, and its left at Shelbyville. Cavalry protected its flanks on the right to McMinnville, and on the left to Columbia and Spring Hill. In front of this entire position was a chain called the Coffee Hills, a spur of the Cumberland range—high, rough and rocky, with but few roads suitable for the movement of an army. These roads are—by the way of McMinnville, leading to the extreme right of the rebel line; by the Manchester turnpike, which crosses the hills through Hoover's Gap; by the War Trace road through Liberty Gap; by another nameless road through Bellebuckle Gap; and by the Shelbyville




turnpike, which leads to the left of the rebel line, through Guy's Gap. The enemy held all these passes with a strong force, and his main position at Shelbyville was strongly intrenched. Here Bragg intended to offer battle, as he supposed General Rosecrans would advance to attack by the turnpike, it affording excellent means for the transportation of his artillery and trains. Polk's corps was at Shelbyville; Hardee's joined him on the right, and occupied Bellebuckle, Liberty and Hoover's Gaps. Their total effective force was estimated at about forty thousand men. Their main base of supplies was at Chattanooga, on the south bank of the Tennessee, and their immediate base was established at Tullahoma, nearly in the centre and rear of their position. The Nashville and Chattanooga railroad connected these bases. There is also a railroad running from Tullahoma to McMinnville, and from War Trace, on the Chattanooga road, to Shelbyville. Tullahoma is situated on what is termed the "barrens," and is strongly intrenched with a redan line of rifle pits and a bastioned fort. It is also protected by the defiles of Duck river, a narrow but deep and swift stream, with a range of rocky hills intervening between it and the "barrens;" in fact this stream separates the higher surface of country, constituted by these hills and the "barrens," from the lower lands or basin of Middle Tennessee. To attack the rebel army and expel it from this region was the object of the next campaign. The plan adopted was to menace their

left and centre with a heavy force of infantry and cavalry, and under cover of these feints to turn their right, destroy the bridge across Elk river, thus cutting off their line of retreat, and compel the enemy either to offer battle on our own ground, or retreat by a circuitous and hazardous route across the mountains and the Tennessee.

On the night of the 23d of June the corps commanders met at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, when the plan of movement was explained to them, and each received instructions for the part assigned him. Moreover, the Twentieth Army Corps was ordered to be ready for the march at daylight next morning.

The morning of the 24th—the day which was to inaugurate a brilliant and enduring victory—like that of the 26th of December, memorable for the advance upon Murfreesboro, opened with a dreary, dismal rain, which soon rendered the roads almost impassable for the artillery and trains; but the men were joyous at the prospect of soon meeting the foe, and indulged in all the burlesque usual to camp.

The SECOND DIVISION followed General Sheridan on the turnpike for six miles, and then turned to the left, marching along a dirt road to Old Millersburg. General Davis's division followed on the same road. After leaving the Shelbyville turnpike the division was in the advance, the first brigade leading the column. It reached Old Millersburg at noon. Thus far there were no signs of the foe. General McCook



then ordered General Johnson to reconnoitre the canon in the hills, or, in other words, Liberty Gap. Colonel T. J. Harrison, with five companies of his mounted infantry, the Thirty-ninth Indiana, were deployed as skirmishers, in advance, the brigades moving in column in the rear. About two o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Harrison informed General Willich that he was skirmishing with some eight hundred infantry, posted in front of the Gap; whereupon he was ordered to halt, and the first brigade was advanced to the skirmish line. Here General Willich deployed the Fifteenth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Frank Askew, to the right, and the Forty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Gibson, to the left of the road, as skirmishers, with supporting companies in front. The Eighty-ninth Illinois, Colonel C. T. Hotchkiss, on the right, and the Thirty-Second Indiana, Major Jacob Glass,<sup>1</sup> on the left of the road, with Captain


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1. Major Jacob Glass was born in Dielkerchen, Rein Province of Bavaria, on the 9th of April, 1836. At the age of fourteen he came with his parents to this country, and settled in Columbus, Ohio. In 1853 he removed to Madison, Indiana, and in 1857 established business for himself. When the tocsin of war sounded throughout the land he recruited a company for the Thirty-second Indiana. On the 20th of October, 1862, he was promoted Major, and on the 25th of November, 1863, he fell as a soldier loves to fall, while storming the enemy's works on Mission Ridge. He fell just in the moment of victory, pierced through the bowels with a musket ball. In his death the service lost a true patriot, a brave and gallant soldier, whose courage had been tested on many fields and never found wanting, and an officer not only respected but loved by his command. He hears no longer the call of our country, nor the clash and death-song of battle:

"His blade leaps not at the long, loud cry,  
Nor starts and streams with a crimson dye;  
He shouts no 'Charge!' nor the brave line leads,  
For he lies in the grave of his glorious deeds."

Goodspeed's battery, lay in reserve, and beyond the reach of the enemy's fire. As Willich advanced the enemy's skirmishers fell back upon their reserves, posted in a strong line along the crest of hills which form the northern entrance to the Gap.

To dislodge the enemy from this position it was necessary to ascend the heights. These were very steep, open fields to half their summits, then covered with jagged masses of rock and a heavy growth of timber. A demonstration was first made upon the enemy's front, to ascertain whether he would make an obstinate resistance. It was soon found impracticable to attempt to carry the heights by a front attack, as it would greatly and needlessly sacrifice the men. General Johnson then resolved to flank the position; General Willich therefore ordered the Forty-ninth Ohio to deploy further to the left, and the Fifteenth Ohio more to the right, to ascertain, if possible, the extent of the enemy's line. Our front presented a deployed line of thirteen companies, and still it was outflanked on the left by the enemy. Captain Monk was then ordered forward with two companies of the Thirty-second Indiana, to extend our front to the left. The five companies of the mounted infantry were also ordered to protect Colonel Gibson's left and to gain the enemy's right flank. Colonel Harrison dashed off with his men in splendid style, and reached the point designated just in time to repel a spirited dash of the enemy, some two hundred strong, who were advancing to turn Gibson's flank.



Meantime General Johnson, observing the extent of the enemy's line, personally ordered Colonel Miller, commanding the second brigade, to send forward one regiment as a reinforcement to General Willich, who was now hotly engaged with the enemy. Colonel Miller at once moved forward with the Twenty-ninth Indiana, and deployed it in line on the right of the Fifteenth Ohio. In order to rest upon the extreme left flank of the enemy's position it was necessary to deploy almost the entire command in the front line, leaving it without proper company support. Colonel Miller, seeing this, galloped back to his brigade and ordered up the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, which formed in line between the Fifteenth Ohio and the Twenty-ninth Indiana. The whole front now moved forward in a most gallant manner, returning with remarkable coolness a furious fire, ascended the heights, completely outflanked the rebels both on the right and on the left, and compelled them to flee with precipitancy. In this charge the gallant Captain Chance, of the Forty-ninth, was killed, and Captain Danford and Lieutenant Smiley, of the Fifteenth, wounded, the latter mortally. As soon as Colonel Miller's line had reached the summit of the hill and changed front to the left, the left of Willich's line having also changed front to the right, and both closing in upon the Gap, the latter advanced with his reserve regiments directly upon its entrance; but so successful had been the flanking dispositions, and so prompt and simultaneous in their execution,



that he met with no resistance. From three rebel soldiers who had been captured while working in the harvest field, it was known that two regiments of infantry, the Fifth and Fifteenth Arkansas, of General Lidell's brigade, were encamped in the Gap. The enemy had an immense advantage in position, and would have been almost invincible to a front attack; but the admirable dispositions of General Johnson and the heroic bravery of the men scaled those heights, encountered not only the regiments encamped there, but the whole of Lidell's brigade, which had come up from Bellebuckle, and drove them in disorder from their position, our troops taking possession, finding tables set, and everything in the usual order of camp, as if they had never dreamed of attack. The division pursued the enemy for a mile, until having passed Liberty meeting-house, it was ordered to halt.

The first and second brigades now went into bivouac, and the third brigade, Colonel Baldwin, came up and moved still further on, to establish the picket lines of the division. The Sixth Indiana and the Louisville Legion were deployed as skirmishers, and advanced to the right and front. The First and Ninety-third Ohio were halted in the road. A few minutes after the advance regiments became engaged with the enemy. The firing was spirited, and was steadily kept up by our advance. The enemy again, posted along another chain of hills, appeared to be determined to make strong resistance; but the two


regiments continued their march amidst the shower of balls that issued from the woods, and soon routed him from his position and established themselves in it. During the conflict the Ninety-third Ohio was ordered to the support of the "Louisville Legion," deployed on the right, and moved by the right flank across a rye field towards a piece of woods. While crossing this field the enemy opened with artillery, and in an instant a shell burst within twenty feet of the head of the column. Being thus exposed to a raking fire which it could not hope to silence from that position, it was ordered back to its former place in the road, with the First Ohio. General Johnson in the meantime directed Captain Goodspeed to open upon the enemy's artillery, and a few shots silenced its fire.

The day had been one of incessant rain, and it continued as unremittingly through the night. The wounded were promptly sheltered in the neighboring farm-houses, and their wounds carefully dressed by the attending surgeons. The men, exhausted by the weary march through deep mud and the excitement incident to battle, raised their shelter tents, rolled themselves up in their blankets, and though lying on the soaked ground, were soon oblivious to all things earthly. An occasional report of a sentry's gun was all that broke the stillness of the dismal scene.

Three o'clock in the morning of the 25th found the division astir and to arms. General Johnson had taken every precaution against surprise, and satisfied

himself that all was in readiness for battle by a personal inspection of his troops. Positive information had been received during the night that the division of General Cleburne had reinforced the enemy, and that a stout resistance would be made to our further progress.

If you cast your eye on the map of this battle ground, you will perceive that the Federal picket line, on the morning of the 25th instant, traced the crest of a high knob, commencing on the left of the road, descending into a valley as it crosses the road, and then followed a fence extending along the crest of another knob, its right well refused and facing to the west. In front of the line facing south, on both sides of the road, are corn, cotton and wheat fields. To the south and west of the fields, on the east side of the road, is another small but prominent height, its northerly and southerly bases being skirted by an orchard. A small creek, partially skirted by a willow copse, runs a westerly course along the entire front, forming a slight defile in defence of the position. This road, which runs to Bellebuckle, turns in a sharp curve to the east as it nears the creek, and follows its course for some distance, crossing it at the edge of the orchard referred to, and then passing through another which joins it. To the south of the creek are two other hills, wooded and precipitous on their northern fronts, and connected by an abrupt and wooded ridge. At the point where the Bellebuckle road turns to the east another diverges to the



south and west, and ascends the hill opposite where was posted our right front. Upon each of these hills the enemy planted batteries, and his picket line trended along their base. The distance between the two fronts varied from five hundred to one thousand yards.

Early on this morning the first brigade was ordered to relieve the third brigade on picket. The Thirty-second Indiana was placed on the left, and the Eighty-ninth Illinois on the right of the line. The Fifteenth and Forty-ninth Ohio were formed in column as reserve behind the hills along which the advance was formed. A desultory fire soon opened between the two forces on outpost, but was not of a character to excite alarm.

About ten o'clock in the morning the enemy's cavalry and infantry appeared in considerable force at different points of their line, and more particularly on the right front of the Eighty-ninth Illinois, where the enemy's position extended along a moderate slope of the hill, commanding the open fields in its front, and under cover of the woods which crowned it they opened a spirited fire on that regiment; but it was at long range, and effected nothing. It was near noon when a strong line of the enemy's skirmishers appeared in front of the Thirty-second Indiana, then crossed the creek and engaged that regiment warmly. It soon extended to the left of the Eighty-ninth Illinois. The rebel line advanced with great boldness, even up to the foot of the hill. After a brisk fight

of half an hour the enemy was repulsed and forced to seek cover behind the willow copse bordering the creek. Again all was quiet : but it was the stillness which precedes the gathering storm. In less than an hour the enemy's line advanced, heavily reinforced with supporting companies and a line of reserves, while an infantry column was descried in the timber at the base of the hill, as an additional reserve force. At the same moment the batteries planted upon the hills in rear of the rebel position threw shells which came screaming through the air and crashing among the trees, and under cover of which their advance charged across the fields and up the hill amidst vociferous yells and shouts, halting not until within about twenty yards of our position. As before, the shock was directed against the centre of our line ; but the supporting companies of the advance rallied to the front, and for a few moments the contest was fiercely waged. But the two regiments were determined to maintain their ground, and received and returned a most withering fire for full twenty minutes. Neither the rebel cannonade nor musketry could force our lines ; and the enemy, discouraged and discomfited at the ill success of their daring adventure, retreated down the hill under a merciless fire.


It was evident that the enemy did not like our position, which was really the key to the Gap, and was determined if possible to dislodge the regiments which defended it ; for if he could succeed in appuying his troops on the hill, he would at once render



that position untenable, and compel us to fall back to the entrance of the Gap. To gain this valuable point, and to hold it successfully, was the next effort of the rebel general; he therefore prepared for the attack, and at two o'clock advanced across the open fields with a heavy line of skirmishers, strongly and closely supported, and a brigade of infantry in column in reserve. Meantime the rebel batteries on the hills, and another piece planted in the road near where it turns, opened a furious fire; but our line stood undismayed at the attempt the enemy was making to force it to retreat. On came the rebel host with an impulsion that seemed irresistible to the force who must oppose it. But never was a firmer countenance maintained. As the enemy began to ascend the heights our line poured forth one continuous torrent of lead that caused him to waver, then to fall back, and finally to retreat. He struggled heroically to ascend to our front, and his second line rallied to the aid of its comrades in arms, only to share a similar fate. Again and again he pressed our lines, and fearfully decimated, was forced back. Still he would not yield. The battle having assumed a decided form, and it being known precisely what was the enemy's intention, Captain Goodspeed's guns were ordered into battery on the hills behind our troops, and thereby secured our flanks. General Johnson also directed a section of the Twentieth Ohio battery to take a position directly in the rear of the centre of the line.

The battle now raged more furiously than ever. Goodspeed, Belding and Grosskopff fired their artillery with great precision, and compelled the enemy to change the position of his guns; they also prevented any attempt to turn our flank. While the Thirty-second Indiana and the Eighty-ninth Illinois were thus heroically defending their position, Captain Kidder, of the latter regiment, who had just been ordered to the front line, discovered about two companies of the enemy's infantry, who were moving apparently with the intention of attacking the right of that regiment. He resolved to defeat this purpose of the enemy, and cautiously yet rapidly moved his command under cover of the hill to a position some two hundred yards in advance of our line, but to the right of the portion engaged. Here he sheltered his men behind a fence, and awaited the advance of the enemy. On he came, not dreaming of the ambush prepared for him. When within forty yards the command was given to fire, and from three score of trusty rifles belched forth the leaden messengers of death. It was terribly fatal. Eight were killed, one a major, and nearly thirty wounded. The remainder were thrown into disorder and forced to retire. Pell-mell they rushed across the open field, behind the copse, by the creek, and on to the woods on the hill beyond. No further demonstrations were made upon that portion of the line.

Meantime the ammunition of these regiments began to give out, and General Willich ordered the



Fifteenth Ohio to their support. Lieutenant Colonel Askew deployed his battalion as skirmishers, and gallantly moved forward to the line engaged, doubling in with the Thirty-second and dividing cartridges with it. This, together with the cartridges taken from those who had fallen, quite replenished the ranks, and the battle continued with redoubled energy. The rebels now advanced by brigades, and seemed determined to carry the position by assault. The obstinacy of our men, however, prevented their gaining any permanent foothold on the hills occupied by them. Willich now ordered the Forty-ninth Ohio forward as a reserve to his centre, and dispatched an aide to General Johnson, who was near by, informing him that the battle was growing serious, and he might not be able to hold his ground. During this last severe engagement, and when the danger of being repulsed was greatest, Captain Herbert M. Blake, of the Eighty-ninth Illinois, a truly brave and Christian officer, fell mortally wounded; and another, Sergeant George Sinclair, of company C, who had been conspicuous for his gallantry, while in advance of his company was shot through the chest, but refused to be carried from the field, saying, "Let me alone and hold the fence!" and nobly waved his cap, cheering on his comrades. A private in company F, Fifteenth Ohio, named James E. Ramage, displayed the noblest heroism. He had fallen mortally wounded, but rising to a sitting posture, he again grasped his rifle, said to a comrade, "I am giving them my last shot!" fired,



and exhausted from pain, again fell to the ground. Alas! that his prediction proved true. He died in a few minutes afterwards, and when his faithful captain sought to cheer him with kindly sympathy, his face beamed with a kind of heavenly radiance as he cheerfully said, "Tell father I fell with my face to the foe!" Thus died a noble soldier in a glorious cause.

The battle still raging with unabated vigor, and the ammunition again nearly exhausted, General Willich determined to attempt a decisive measure and force the enemy from his position at the base of the hill. Accordingly he ordered the Forty-ninth Ohio to charge on him. This splendid regiment debouched from the forest which had sheltered it as a reserve, and with the gallant Gibson<sup>2</sup> at its head, passed

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2. Colonel William H. Gibson was born in Jefferson county, Ohio, on the 16th of May, 1822. His father was Irish and his mother of Welch descent. In the year of his birth his parents settled on Honey Creek, Seneca county, Ohio. The county was then an unbroken wilderness, and not yet organized. Here, on the frontier, young Gibson was reared, and here, in log cabin school-houses, (lighted with greased paper windows,) he received his first education. He was the tenth of eleven children—six sons and five daughters. His father was a man of superior intelligence, a great reader, a consistent Christian, and addressed all his energies to the moral culture and education of his children. He was a carpenter and joiner by trade. His farm was a model in improvements as well as taste; his house the house of those in need—the resort of ministers, teachers, and the best class of people. William H. was under the private tutorship of Dr. D. M. Bats for some time, and spent two years at the Ashland Academy, Ashland, Ohio, where he won the highest honors of the school, both in his classes and on the stage.

In October, 1842, he began the study of law in the office of Abel Rawson, Esq., of Tiffin, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1844. In a short time he was ranked among the ablest and most promising of his profession, and had few equals as an advocate. In politics, he was an anti-slavery Whig, and although a boy, greatly distinguished himself as an orator in the contest between Clay and Polk in 1844.

He was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention in 1852, and the earnest champion of General Scott. In 1856 he supported General Fre-

through the advance lines amidst the wildest cheers of the men. Its formation was in four ranks, and the order was given to advance firing. It was such a scene as is seldom presented. Scores of soldiers in the other regiments of the brigade, apparently intoxicated with the brilliant scene, and anxious to participate in its assured victory, broke their ranks, and

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mont, and won a national reputation as a public orator, speaking much of his time in Pennsylvania and other States. In 1855 he was elected Treasurer of Ohio, but after the discovery of the Breslin defalcation he resigned, as he was charged with complicity in the fraud. Seven years have passed, and he has met and challenged investigation and trial, still no one believes him guilty, while his great personal popularity in the State remains unaffected. He took no part in the political contest of 1860, but sympathized strongly with the Honorable Stephen A. Douglas, insisting all the while that civil war was inevitable, let who might be chosen President.

On the 31st day of July, 1861, he was commissioned by Governor Denison to raise the Forty-ninth Ohio regiment. While at Camp Nevin it was attached to the SECOND DIVISION. At Shiloh and Stone River Colonel Gibson led a brigade, and his skillful management of his men, his thorough knowledge of his duties, his gallant and noble bearing on the battle field, have repeatedly excited the admiration of his soldiers and his superiors, and he has been repeatedly recommended for promotion by Generals McCook, Buell, Sill, Johnson and Rosecrans. At Shiloh he received a bayonet wound in the left leg. He is a very popular commander, kind to his men, yet a strict disciplinarian; ever attentive to their just wants, yet exacting in obedience. He considers his regiment as a family, of which he is the head, and ever seeks to exercise over it a wise and beneficial control. He is proud of his men, and they are proud of him, and ever ready to go where he leads and duty calls. Its magnificent history is his history, and its illustrious daring has reflected glory upon him—a glory most worthily bestowed. As a man, Colonel Gibson possesses high moral principle, and is genial in nature—ever the friend of the poor and the enemy of aristocratic caste. As a lawyer, he is learned in his profession and skillful and untiring in the interest of his clients; as an orator, he is eloquent and brilliant, and few men in his State exercise a stronger influence over their reason; as a soldier, he is unsurpassed in gallantry and devotion; as a commander, he is able and discreet. The Government seems willfully to have overlooked his services in the disbursement of its honors, for it has conferred the "star" on many a man far less worthy of wearing it. Gibson is not ambitious enough, however, to secure political influence to gain an honor which should be received only through the proper channel of official recommendation, and thus his merits are slighted. Justice will yet give him his reward. With a soul full of patriotism as ever, he has re-enlisted his regiment as veterans, and is resolved to see the rebellion ended, or die in the effort to crush it.

although supplied with but a few rounds of ammunition, and many indeed having none, swelled the little column as it so nobly sped on its mission. The brave battalion steadily advanced amidst a shower of musketry and shell, reserving its fire until within close range of the enemy's infantry. Then it opened deliberately and unerringly. The third volley by rank routed the rebel brigade and flung it back into the open field. With a shout Gibson's men dashed on, impatient to use the bayonet. The foe retreated precipitately across the field and under the protection of the canister of his artillery. Exposure in that field would be certain destruction without compensating results, so it was judiciously halted at the fence whence the rebels had fled.

At this juncture General Johnson, thinking that the enemy, thus pressed, could be driven from his position on the opposite hills by the determined and rapid advance of fresh troops, ordered forward the second brigade. Colonel Miller, eager to mingle in the fray, hastily obeyed the summons, leaving six companies of the Twenty-ninth and four of the Thirtieth Indiana, which had picketed the flanks of our line, being posted along the crest of a hill, with a deep ravine in their front, and joining the right or the Eighty-ninth Illinois, in which position they had engaged the enemy at long range when the conflict pressed so heavily on Willich's front. The remaining portions of the two regiments were united into one battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Dunn and Major

Fitzsimmons, and advanced with the brigade. The brigade having arrived in rear of General Willich's line was deployed into line of battle, passed to the front and engaged the enemy *en echelons* by battalion at sixty paces.

The first brigade, thus relieved from the conflict, was withdrawn and replenished with ammunition, and in less than fifteen minutes was again ready for action. As the Eighty-ninth Illinois was withdrawing from its position the enemy construed it into a retreat, and hastened to occupy the hill; but the regiment faced about, and although having only from two to four cartridges to a man, it dashed down the hill, poured a volley into the advancing rebel host, and charged it across the open fields in front. Soon a portion of General Carlin's brigade of General Davis's division relieved them from picket duty, and Captain Simonson's battery was placed in position with Captain Goodspeed's. These twelve guns subsequently did splendid service.

The second brigade moved gallantly into action. The Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania was forward on the right, then the Seventy-ninth Illinois, next the Thirty-fourth Illinois, and lastly the consolidated command of Lieutenant Colonel Dunn. The last was temporarily held in reserve, to be thrown to either flank as circumstances might require. The enemy was now in position upon the high knob on our left, his skirmishers at its base, with a line of battle midway the height, and a strong reserve with

artillery on its summit. Down the hill moved the brigade, across the sparsely wooded hollow, through the orchard to the left of the hill this side of the creek, and then a corn field freshly plowed and deep with mud. It was hard work moving in line of battle across that open field. Meantime the enemy, well sheltered in his position, directed a plunging fire from his skirmishers, his line of battle, and the artillery above, under which many noble men fell, killed and wounded. It was then that Captains Martin and Patton, of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, and Lieutenant Thomas, of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, fell face to the foe, the bravest among the brave; but the line wavered not—faltered not. As comrades fell the ranks closed up solid as before, and still pushed onward. The Seventy-ninth Illinois, moving more rapidly than the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, was soon on the same alignment, and both advanced together. The Thirty-fourth Illinois, Major Miller,<sup>3</sup> in obedience to a command from Colonel Miller, changed direction to the left, advancing at left

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3. John McClelland Miller was born in Green Castle, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of August, 1825. In 1833 his parents moved to Boonsboro, Washington county, Maryland. In 1841 John returned to Green Castle, and learned the trade of a harness-maker. In 1846 he enlisted as a private in the First Virginia Infantry, under Colonel Hamtramck. In February, 1849, he married, and in March following went to California. In 1854 he returned to Maryland, and in 1855 removed with his family to Mount Morris, Illinois. In August, 1861, he with others recruited a company, and was attached to the Thirty-fourth Illinois on the 7th of September, 1861, at which date he was commissioned captain, and on the 28th of November, 1862, was promoted to the rank of major. He was wounded in the battle of Shiloh, and commanded the regiment in the action at Liberty Gap, June 25th, upon the severe indisposition of Colonel Dysart.

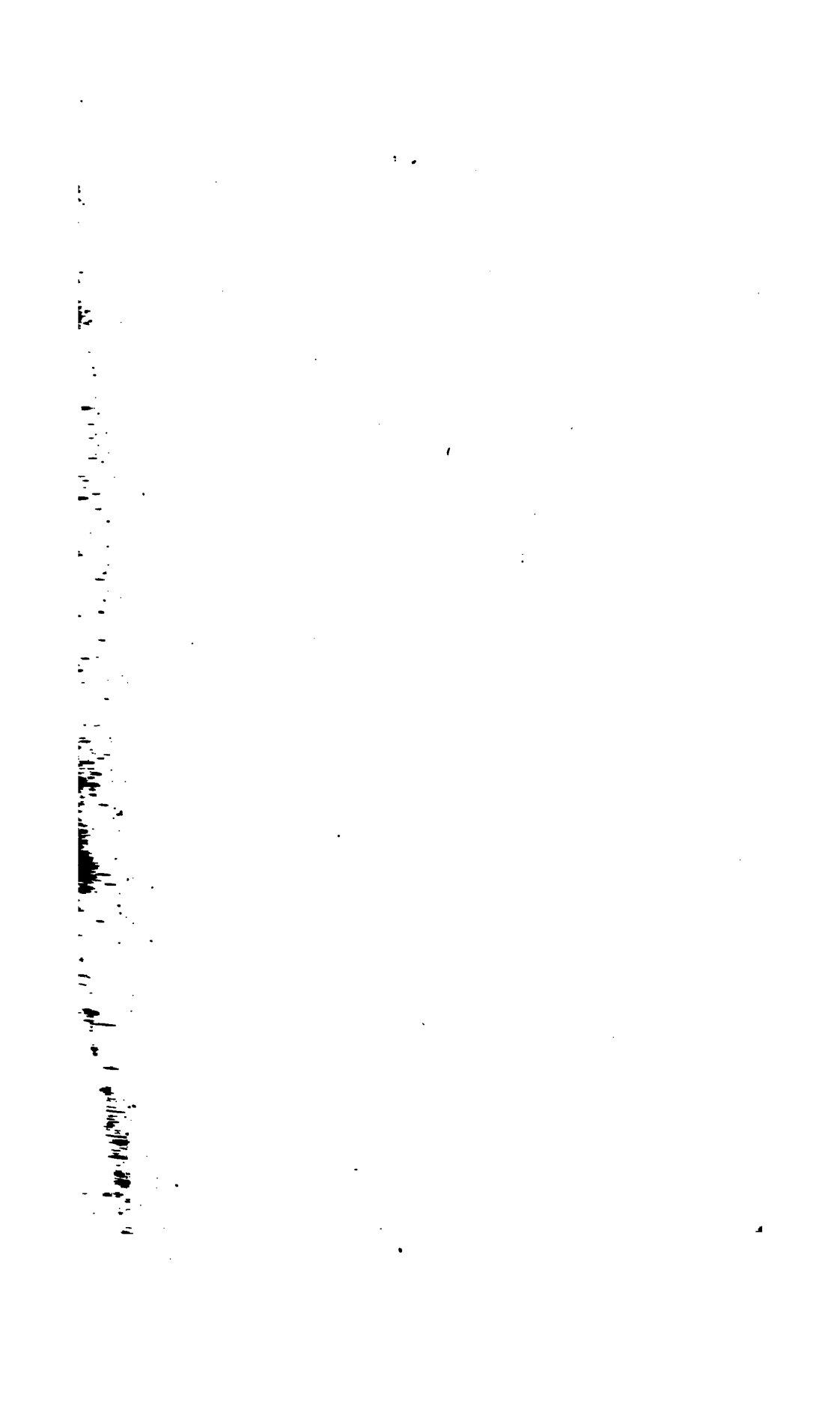
oblique, and when within close range of the rebel line halted, and kneeling dealt a most murderous volley into the enemy's line posted at the base of the hill. Meantime the other regiments advanced to the charge, Colonel Rose gallantly leading. It was a grand success. The cool courage of the men, the rapidity and deliberation with which they fired, their enthusiasm as with reckless impetuosity they dashed through the creek, with the mud full six inches deep, evinced a proud contempt of danger and demoralized the enemy, for upon their gaining the fence at which his advance had been posted, it broke in confusion and retreated hastily up the hill; and here our men, under cover of the fence, and almost secure from harm, waged the desperate game.

While these regiments were thus engaged Colonel Miller received an order from General Johnson to send one regiment up the hill, to the right of his position, to drive back a force which it was thought was debouching by the old road which leads from the Bellebuckle road, for the purpose of attacking our right flank. The Twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel Dunn, moved with commendable rapidity to the point designated, and defeated any attempt to turn that flank. At the same time Colonel Miller directed the Twentieth Ohio battery into position on the crest of the hill, the orchard knob, and it was supported by the Thirtieth Indiana, under Major Fitzsimmons. Then, as Colonel Miller was advancing with his brigade, in rear of the Seventy-

ninth Illinois, a rebel sharpshooter too surely aimed at his mark, and he fell wounded by a rifle ball which penetrated the inner corner of the left eye, and was at once disabled.<sup>4</sup> Some of the members of his staff

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4. John F. Miller was born on the 21st of November, 1831, in Union county, Indiana. He was educated for the law in New York, and practiced that profession with eminent success from 1853 to 1861, both in California and Indiana. In 1860 he was elected to the State Senate, but promptly tendered his resignation upon the outbreak of the rebellion, and raised the Twenty-ninth Indiana Infantry. Having been mustered into the United States service, he immediately proceeded to Kentucky, and was assigned to the Second Division. Just previous to the division leaving Nashville, in March, 1862, he was relieved from the command of the fifth brigade, and assigned to the command of the Nashville barracks. On the 19th of June he was assigned the command of the post and district of Nashville, relieving General Dumont. Here he commenced the construction of the present splendid fortifications at Nashville, by impressing two thousand negroes to do the work. During July and August he was frequently threatened by a large body of rebel cavalry under Forrest, Starnes and others, and although his force was only fifteen hundred strong, by skillfully disposing of it he deceived the enemy as to his real strength, and thus prevented attack. He afterwards defeated John Morgan at Gallatin. On the 1st of September he was relieved from the command of Nashville by General Negley, and assigned the command of a division of light troops—a brigade of infantry, one of cavalry, and a battery of artillery—for the purpose of operating against Morgan, Forrest, and other partisan warriors. The army was then on its retreat, however, and General Buell needed all the cavalry force at his command, so the division was disorganized. Colonel Miller was then placed in command of the seventh brigade of the eighth division, "Army of the Ohio." His brigade consisted of seven regiments, and aided in the defence of Nashville. During September and October, 1862, he encountered and defeated the rebel forces commanded by Bennett and Dobbrell; and in the latter month, in conjunction with General Palmer, attacked Anderson at Lavergne, killing and wounding ninety and capturing his artillery and three hundred prisoners. This affair won golden laurels for Colonel Miller. In the battle of Stone River he behaved most gallantly, and on Wednesday was wounded in the neck by a musket ball, while in the thickest of the fight; but he remained on the field throughout that fierce conflict. When on the 2d of January, 1863, Breckenridge made his terrible attack on Van Cleve's division, Colonel Miller, with the intelligence of a true soldier, conceived, ordered and led in person the magnificent bayonet charge which routed the foe and turned the fortunes of the day. He captured four pieces of artillery and one stand of colors. His consummate ability and heroism displayed in this action excited the admiration of the army, and he was officially complimented and recommended for promotion by Generals Negley, Thomas and Rosecrans. On returning to the second brigade he nobly led his men into the action of Liberty Gap, and there received a fearful wound—a ball passing behind the eye, destroying the sight, and lodging just below the left temple,







*Genl. Miller*


bore him (dying as it was thought) to the rear; but his gallant brigade, unconscious of its loss, was still pressing the enemy, driving him at all points, even forcing his line of battle to the summit of the knob close to his artillery. The enemy, was determined, however, to regain the ground he had lost. Twice he charged these two regiments, and was each time repulsed. But the rapid firing of our men, which reverberated in one continued roll, soon exhausted their ammunition, and Colonel Rose found himself in need of reinforcements. At this instant Aide-de-camp Baldwin came dashing across the open fields on foaming charger, amidst a perfect sleet of balls aimed directly at him from the whole rebel force—a most daring act—and informed Colonel Rose that he was in command of the brigade, as Colonel Miller was wounded. Baldwin's escape was marvellous. He was unharmed, but his horse was twice shot in the neck. Colonel Rose at once ordered forward the Thirty-fourth Illinois, and sent to General Johnson for further aid. The Thirty-fourth Illinois moved with magnificent steadiness, losing every fifth man as

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where it yet remains. In October, 1863, he returned to duty, and was appointed President of the Military Commission for the trial of spies, smugglers, guerrillas, and other desperadoes. On the 1st of May, 1864, he was commissioned brigadier general, for gallant services rendered on Stone River and other battle-fields. At this time (July 1st, 1864,) he is post-commandant at Nashville.

John F. Miller is a modest, unpretending man, kind in disposition and affable to all. He is possessed of strong intellectual faculties, and is well adapted to the position of a post-commandant, involving a civic military rule. He is an indefatigable worker, talented in his profession of a soldier, and a noble and chivalrous leader.

it advanced, but every gap was closed and its front looked unbroken. It was then that Lieutenant Merrill, a young but brave officer, who had won his position by faithful service, was killed, and Lieutenant Carney wounded. The Thirty-eighth Illinois and the One hundred and first Ohio, of General Davis's division, also came to his aid. And here occurred a mistake which resulted in no loss, but which deprived these gallant commands of the full fruition of victory. An order was given the Seventy-seventh to move by the flank, but it was understood to be an order for retreat; and as three regiments were close at hand to take the position it occupied, it withdrew in most excellent order under the fire of the enemy. Colonel Buckner, of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, seeing the Seventy-seventh withdraw, and thinking he had mistaken the order to move by the flank, also withdrew. But the position was safe, for the other three regiments at once engaged the enemy, and their fire was so rapid and so effective that the enemy, though stubborn in his resistance, could not oppose it with walls of men. In five minutes' time the Thirty-fourth Illinois shot down three of the enemy's color-bearers. Finally, maddened at the seeming impudence of our men, he rallied and charged furiously down the hill. He was met with a well-aimed volley, which cut down file after file, and caused him to rush headlong back again. Many of the soldiers of the Thirty-fourth, frantic with delight in giving him so signal a repulse, leaped the fence, and yelling like demons, charged



the hill. The rebels were now routed, and two brigades strong, retreated hastily towards Bellebuckle.

The fight was now over—the victory won. General Johnson was ordered to hold the ground gained, but not to press the foe. Accordingly, the division encamped near the battle-ground for the night. All had fought nobly, and not a single instance of cowardise was known. To charge those hills and dislodge the enemy, so securely and advantageously posted, was a task well worthy the loftiest heroism of veteran troops. The conduct of the **SECOND DIVISION** was the theme of admiration among military commanders. General McCook, in a letter of instructions to General Johnson, dated the evening of the 25th of June, said: "The **SECOND DIVISION** has proved itself worthy of Shiloh, and I am delighted with its behavior." And in his official report of the operations of the Twentieth Army Corps he refers to the actions at Liberty Gap in these words: "I never witnessed more gallantry and heroism in officers and soldiers than was displayed on the 24th, and reported to me of the action of the 25th." General Rosecrans in his report said: "General McCook's taking of Liberty Gap was very gallant, and creditable to the troops of Johnson's division."

The loss of the enemy in these actions is unknown. Seventy-five of his dead were left inside of our lines. The citizens in the neighborhood reported that his wounded were estimated at from four to five hundred. The loss in the division was also severe, but far less

than might be expected from the perilous heights it stormed. Thirty-four were killed and one hundred and seventy wounded—a total of two hundred and four; nor does this include the few casualties which occurred in the third brigade, the data for which is not at hand.<sup>5</sup>

The division remained at the Gap until the evening of the 26th, menacing, but not passing through it. Meantime the reserve corps carried the position at Shelbyville, routing the forces under Polk; and General Thomas, by dexterous movements and brilliant dashes, occupied the rebel position at Hoover's Gap. General Crittenden, struggling through the mud over roads almost impassable, threatened seriously the enemy's right flank. Wilder's brigade of mounted infantry, supported by John Beatty's brigade of light infantry, penetrated to the rear of Tullahoma, and endeavored to burn the Elk river bridge, but failing in consequence of a largely superior force, destroyed the railroad track near Decherd for some distance. The enemy, forced from all his advanced positions, retreated to Tullahoma, and concentrated his forces by the night of the 28th of June. The army then prepared to move on that stronghold. On the 27th instant the division, with the exception of the second

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5. It will be observed, by referring to the map of this battle-ground, that the positions of the third brigade are not put down. This is owing to the fact that the Topographical Engineer of that brigade furnished no sketch of its positions, nor was the author able to obtain them. However, they were not materially different from the picket line of the first brigade, as represented, if indeed they were not the same.

brigade, which remained with General Davis's division, was withdrawn, and marched on Hoover's Gap, where it arrived at ten o'clock the next morning. That morning the second brigade followed, rejoining the division during the day at Beech Grove, on the Manchester turnpike.

The division marched to Manchester on the 28th, and bivouacked near Duck river until the 1st of July, awaiting the arrival and disposition of the different *corps d'armees*. While here the extra baggage of the division was sent back to Murfreesboro, and the Thirtieth Indiana detailed as guard.<sup>6</sup> The horrible state of the roads and the worn-out condition of the animals, most of which had nothing to eat for three days, rendered it necessary to destroy most of the transportation.

On the night of the 30th of June the army was in order of battle, ready to engage the enemy on the morrow. Heavy reconnoissances towards Tullahoma early on the morning of the 1st of July developed the fact that the enemy was evacuating. The army was at once put in motion, but it advanced slowly, as the "barrens," in consequence of the rain which had fallen almost incessantly since the morning of the 24th of June, had rendered the soil so soft and spongy that the artillery and horses sank into it as if it were a quagmire. The difficulty of movement

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6. Colonel Dodge returned on the 29th of June from leave of absence, and relieved Colonel Rose from the command of the second brigade.

may be inferred from the fact that it required eleven hours of marching for the infantry to reach Tullahoma, a distance of only eleven miles from Manchester. The SECOND DIVISION left Manchester at ten o'clock in the morning of the 1st of July, and arrived at Tullahoma about midnight. General Johnson was ordered to establish his headquarters at this place and assume command of the town. The army pursued the enemy as rapidly as the roads would permit, drove his rear guard across Elk river and over the Cumberland mountains, and captured sixteen hundred and thirty-four prisoners. The enemy hastily retired across the Tennessee, and thus ended the campaign. Our army established its new position, its right resting at Winchester and Cowan, its left at McMinnville, and rapidly recruited from the exhaustion of its weary marches.

The campaign had been a brilliant success. The enemy had been encountered and driven from all his strong positions with remarkable rapidity; his army forced to retreat across the Tennessee, and only saved from a most disastrous defeat, if not from capture, by the occurrence of one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee at that period of the year, which necessarily retarded our operations, and thus enabled him to escape. It was, however, a most demoralizing defeat to the enemy. His ranks were infected with despair and thinned from hour to hour. Officers were disobeyed, and whole companies disbanded, flung away their arms, and fled to the woods



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and thence to our lines. The roads were strewed with cannon, caissons and limbers, abandoned in the mud. Such was the condition of the rebel army as it quitted the magnificent region of Middle Tennessee;—far otherwise than when, before our approach, it hurled defiance to our arms and welcomed us to a more bloody battle than Southern chivalry had yet accorded.

## CHAPTER XVII.

**TULLAHOMA, ITS CONDITION AND DEFENCES—OCCURRENCES—BIOGRAPHY OF BRIGADIER GENERAL E. N. KIRK—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE CUMBERLAND MOUNTAINS TO CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE.**

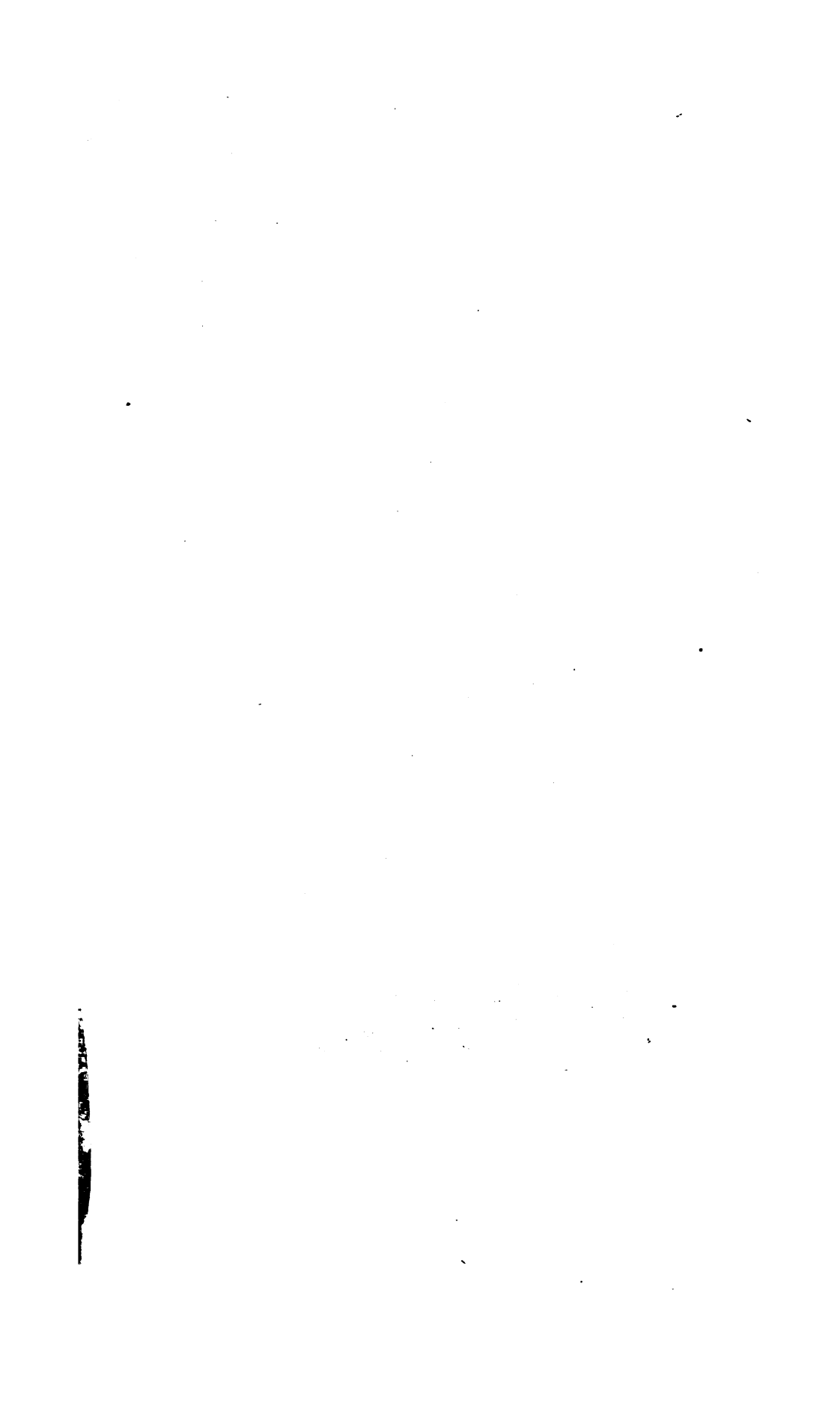
TULLAHOMA is situated, as has been stated, in what is termed the "barrens" of Middle Tennessee. This section commences as you cross the defile of Duck river, and continues in a southerly direction until you approach Winchester. It is not at all mountainous, but generally rolling and undulating—sometimes rough and abrupt. The surface is a yellowish clay, with a most treacherous subsoil, and is heavily timbered with the different varieties of walnut, chestnut, oak, and some species of the Southern pine. The town stands upon the crest of one of these rolls of land, and contains ordinarily, perhaps, a population of five hundred inhabitants, whites and negroes. It has one hotel and two unfinished churches. There are a few pretty residences, but the houses mostly are

painted and porticoed outside, while the inside is rough and unfinished as a barn. Bragg carried with him nearly all the male population as conscripts when he retreated; indeed while occupying the position along Duck river he forced almost every available man into the Confederate service. The position at Tullahoma is naturally a strong one; and had the enemy made a stand, he could have maintained himself in front against an attack of greatly superior numbers. To the north and east end of the town stands a large, fine bastion fort, amply provided with all that military science suggests. It mounts sixteen guns; and the timber, for a mile or more in front, having been cleared by the enemy, it commands a wide extent of country, and most effectively the main approaches from the north. Besides, there are full six miles of rifle pits around the place—a part well, and a part hurriedly and imperfectly constructed. A heavy *abattis* of brushwood extended along the entire line, which would likewise have aided materially in retarding our advance. But the enemy, although strong in front, was weak on his flanks, and could not resist the threatening movements either of Crittenden or McCook. The alternative of capture or retreat was consequently thrust upon him, and he chose the latter.

There was every evidence of rebel occupation. The town and the camps around it were filthy in the extreme—even dead animals lying in the streets and adjacent to the camps, rapidly decomposing under

the hot rays of a July sun, filled the air with a most noisome stench, which if allowed to continue much longer must have bred a pestilence. Such sights do not speak favorably for the sanitary discipline of the rebel army. It is no wonder that thousands of its men were in the hospitals at Chattanooga, raving in the delirium of fever.

The first task before our soldiers was to police the camps and the town—to bury all the offal and cleanse the wells, the water in which exhaled a fragrance similar to the air outside. This accomplished, every thing settled into the quiet of a camp of occupation, and nothing of importance occurred to change the routine of ordinary daily duty. On the 9th of July General Johnson directed the encampment to be named Camp Read, in memory of the late Colonel Sheridan P. Read, who so gallantly fell in the battle of Stone River. On the 7th of August Colonel Dysart resigned, and Lieutenant Colonel Van Tassel, who was seriously wounded at Stone River, having rejoined the regiment, assumed the command. The surrounding country was foraged extensively for subsistence, but little was obtained, the rebel army having preceded us in that mission. While encamped here the office of the Provost Marshal was thronged with fugitives from Bragg's army, who deserted as he crossed the Cumberland mountains, and having secreted themselves until they considered it safe to venture forth, came within our lines. Nearly one thousand took the oath of allegiance at Tullahoma





*E. A. Kirk*

alone. Many came into other portions of our front—at McMinnville, Cowan, Decherd, Winchester and Shelbyville. The universal opinion among them was that now Tennessee was abandoned to the Federal arms, the cotton States might take care of themselves; they should not fight for their independence.

Again came the "Fourth of July." With the SECOND DIVISION it passed quietly away, each enjoying himself as best he could. General Johnson ordered the national colors to be hoisted on the bastion front, and a national salute to be fired at noon. He also granted the troops a perfect holiday—free from every duty except the necessary picket details. A portion of the army, however, was still pursuing the retreating rebels, and away among the mountains was celebrating the time-honored day, amidst the thunder of cannon, by a practical demonstration towards the maintenance of the great principles announced to the world eighty-seven years ago that day, when the heroic and enraptured old man rang it out in tones clear and shrill from the historic bell on old Independence Hall.

On the 22d of July the division heard with regret the sad intelligence that General Kirk was dead. To the second brigade, which he had so long and so ably commanded, it brought sorrowful hearts. A deep gloom pervaded their camp, for all felt the loss as a terrible blow, and many a tearful eye showed how deeply he was ~~rooted in their regard~~, and evinced the tenderness and love of a son for a kind and noble



parent. It is fitting that the history of his life should be preserved in these pages—the record of his military career.

EDWARD N. KIRK was born in Jefferson county, Ohio, on the 29th of February, 1828. He was of "Quaker" parentage, and in early life was impressed with those steady habits and practical views of life which so distinguish that religious sect. He was educated and graduated with honor at the Friends' Academy at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. Having graduated, he taught school for a while at Cadiz, in that State; but as he was an earnest student, thoroughly imbued with the great principle of self-reliance, and having a mind ever active and ambitious for development in some ampler and more exciting field, he chose the profession of law, and entered the office of General Bostwick, of that place—a lawyer of distinguished talents and name. He continued with him for some time, and finally proceeded to Baltimore, where he had friends, and completed his law preparations in the office of Judge Bartol. He was admitted to the bar in that city in the spring of 1853, after a most thorough and highly creditable examination, which evoked the praise of his judges.

Kirk had been thorough in all his studies. He was master of what he read—not only of the text or the dictum of this or that author, but of the principles which underlay theories and opinions. He was a close reasoner, and traced every matter of discussion to cardinal principles, subjecting it to the

stern law of cause and effect. He was imaginative, and even poetic, in his temperament. His conversation was chaste, elegant, and ever agreeable. He was ever discussing life and plans of life-work ; and when he was fairly admitted to the bar he addressed a favorite sister in these words : " You feel afraid for me now—don't you ? Well, it is natural that you should ; but I shall succeed—mark that ! I WILL succeed ; and in ten years I will prove it to you, if I am alive. This is not a mere fancy—it is not an extravagant romance ; I have a settled, deliberate conviction that I shall rise to a fair position at the bar. I have faith in the Great Power of Good that rules the world—faith that sincere, earnest, determined efforts, with consistent fixed plans and principles, are equal to the accomplishment of almost any end." Such was his high purpose. He lived that he might make a man of himself and accomplish something for his age and generation. Full of hope he bravely breasted all the difficulties which beset his onward progress, confident that in the end the lofty struggle of his life would meet with a worthy recompense.

He practised law in Baltimore for one year, and then removed to and permanently located in Sterling, Illinois. On the 15th of October, 1855, he was married to Miss E. M. Cameron, of Philadelphia, an accomplished lady and a devoted wife. Strict attention to business, careful study, uprightness in purpose, an honorable and zealous interest in every good work

affecting the community in which he lived, soon won for him a lucrative practice and an enviable position in society.

Immediately after the battle of Bull Run, when it became apparent that a larger force would be needed to put down the rebellion, Kirk set about raising and organizing a regiment, which he tendered to the Governor of Illinois; but so prompt had been the response of the brave men of the State to the peril of the hour, that more regiments were already tendered than the Governor was then authorized to accept. He then telegraphed to the War Department, and through the influence of the Honorable Leonard Sweet, of Illinois, it was accepted. His commission as colonel dates from the 15th of August, 1861.

In the field he devoted every energy to the mastery of the new profession he had chosen, and in a short time he was celebrated for the perfection of his knowledge of drill and discipline, as well as for his remarkable comprehension of military science as taught by our standard authors, both in this country and in Europe. The action of General McCook, in placing him on the Military Board of Examiners, to pass upon the qualifications of officers, while at Munfordsville, Kentucky, was no mean compliment to his abilities. The high opinion entertained of him by the SECOND DIVISION was increased by his noble bearing on the field of Shiloh. Although wounded, he remained on the field until the battle ended, nor could he be induced to leave it. General McCook,

in his official report of that action, said of him : "He coolly and judiciously led his men under fire. He has been in command of the fifth brigade for some months, and much of its efficiency is due to the care and labor be bestowed upon it. I respectfully call your attention to his meritorious services upon this day." And General Buell in his report especially commended him "to the favor of the Government, for his distinguished gallantry and good conduct."

Kirk was wounded by a musket ball, which struck him in the right shoulder, partially fracturing the joint, passing below the collar bone and lodging against the breast bone ; but his heart was so fully enlisted in the cause that notwithstanding the protestations of Doctor Murray, of General Buell's staff, and Doctor Goldsmith, formerly his brigade surgeon, who knew his wound to be more dangerous than he would believe, he remained at Pittsburg Landing for several days, determined to lead in person his noble brigade in the advance upon Corinth, which he supposed would take place immediately. The result proved his conduct in this respect to be rash and ill-advised. An inflammatory fever ensued. He was taken to Louisville, and for four long months he was unable to walk across his chamber. His surgeons despaired of his life, and nothing but the very best medical skill and the most careful nursing by his wife and sister, who were constantly by his bedside, saved him ultimately, under the providence of God, to his family and country.

While lying on the steamboat at Pittsburg Landing, he was visited by Generals Buell and McCook. The former thanked him in person for his conduct, saying, "I congratulate you on what you have done towards gaining this great victory, and I almost envy you the wound you received under such circumstances."

On the 24th of August, though still suffering from the effects of his wound and a general debility consequent to it, Kirk started to rejoin his old and noble command. Upon reaching Louisville, however, he received orders from General T. J. Boyle, commanding the Army of Kentucky, to take command of an expedition in defence of Lebanon, Kentucky, that place being seriously threatened by the rebel forces under General E. Kirby Smith. During the day information came that Lebanon was safe; the expedition was therefore relinquished. Kirk's heart was made glad by this announcement; not because he was unwilling to serve his country, but he longed, as only a soldier can, once more to meet and grasp the hand of the brave officers and men who with him had periled all and won imperishable glory upon the historic field of Shiloh. But in this he was disappointed. Before night he was ordered by General Boyle to assume command of all the United States forces at Louisville, including the new regiments, which were then rapidly arriving, to repel Bragg's threatened invasion of Kentucky and the Ohio and Indiana frontier.

Organization, discipline and drill were the work of the hour, and Kirk was a fit man for the important and laborious duties of the position. Day and night he exerted all his energies to the prompt execution of his trust. His mode of administration, his promptness in duty, his wisdom in the adjustment of all questions coming before him (both military and civil), and his courteousness to all, gained him many warm friends, and his memory will be kindly cherished by the citizens of that fair city. He retained this command until relieved by General Gilbert.

A number of general officers having reported for duty at this time, including Generals Nelson, Terrill, Jackson, Cruft and Ward, they were appointed to commands in the new organization, and Colonel Kirk was assigned the command of the first brigade of the second division, "Army of Kentucky," under Major General Nelson.

About this time the battle of Richmond occurred, and he was ordered with his brigade and a small force of cavalry to move out on the Lexington turnpike as far as Middletown, to cover the retreat of our forces defeated at Richmond. This duty he performed with great credit to himself, and it afforded additional evidence of his sound military capacity.

On the 28th of September he was ordered to the command of his old brigade. His heart bounded with joy at the realization of its hope and prayer, and the officers and men of the "old fifth" hailed with delight the news of his coming. The best of

feeling existed every where—a sure indication of the high appreciation in which he was held. The brigade came out on review, when he addressed it in a few words of cheer, which were welcomed with loud huzzas.

On the 29th of November, 1862, the Government commissioned him a brigadier general, for his “heroic action, gallantry and ability;” and among the many noble sons of the young and rising commonwealth of Illinois who have thus been honored for distinguished service, none ever had that honor more worthily bestowed or wore it with more becoming grace.

His gallantry and devotion on the bloody field of Stone River need no mention here. Gloriously he struggled to resist the rebel host, as in overwhelming numbers it bore down upon his noble brigade. What man could do he did to hold his ground and check the tide which sought to engulf him. The sad disaster which repulsed the division was in nowise his fault, but one of those occurrences which sometimes happen and cloud the genius of the most brilliant captains with defeat and ruin. General Johnson in his report of the action characterized him as “a gallant and experienced officer;” and Major General McCook declared him “one of the best and most experienced brigadiers in the army.” His wound—a severe one, the ball lodging in the back, near the spine—compelled him to withdraw from the field, and repairing to Louisville, he procured the most eminent surgical attendance, but the ball was not

extracted, on the ground that his physical strength could not endure the operation. After a time he proceeded to his home, in Sterling, Illinois, where he gradually improved in health and strength; finally, in July, anxious to be again in the field, and being so sensitive in his nature that he could not tolerate the idea of receiving the emoluments of his position without rendering adequate service, he proceeded to Chicago, to undergo an operation at the hands of Doctor Brainard. The ball was successfully extracted on the 17th of July, and for a short time he manifested the most favorable symptoms for a speedy recovery; but these cheering promises were soon followed by symptoms of an alarming nature. The most devoted attentions of his wife, physicians and friends were of no avail; and so at twenty minutes past nine in the morning of the 21st of July, 1863, amidst the most excruciating pain, his gallant soul departed to another world.

General Kirk was tall in stature and commanding in presence. He possessed a broad, intellectual forehead, dark hair and eyes—the latter a perfect index of the passions of his soul. His mind was clear and practical, and ennobled by a refined culture, it evinced many of the elements of greatness. He was mild in disposition—unostentatious in his dress and manners. He freely conversed with all, and his rare conversational powers won for him the esteem and admiration of all. Although far from being exclusive, few approached him without feeling they were in the pres-



ence of a superior man. He was a great reader, and his mind grasped with avidity all subjects in literature; nor was he uninformed in the physical sciences.

As a citizen he was esteemed; as a lawyer he had won an enviable reputation, and was rapidly rising to the front rank of his profession. Chancery was his favorite branch of law. His causes were always thoroughly analyzed, and his arguments ever showed research and careful preparation. As a speaker he was forcible, earnest, sincere, but not eloquent in the strict sense of the term. His language was simple, his voice clear, and his power with a jury or a public audience lay in the logic of his discourse, and not in brilliant declamation;—he convinced rather than swayed. In politics he was conservative, but in the campaign of 1860 he favored the election of Abraham Lincoln. When the tocsin of national alarm called our countrymen to arms, he relinquished his profession and rallied to its defence. With our own Whittier he exclaimed—

“Perish party—perish clan!  
Strike together while ye can,  
Like the arm of one strong man!”

As a soldier he was brave and enthusiastic as Murat; as an officer he was just and uncompromising in his official course. His soldiers were proud of him, and felt confident under his leadership, for they considered him possessed of high military attainments—indeed and in truth he was one of the army’s brightest ornaments. In his death, his family, society and country

sustained an irreparable loss, nor will he be soon forgotten. The officers and men of his old regiment—the gallant Thirty-fourth Illinois, by whom he was so much beloved—have erected a monument to his fair memory, emblematic of his life and fate, one side of which bears the following inscription—an extract of one of his letters, written to his uncle, Professor N. C. Brooks, LL. D., President of the Baltimore Female College, and dated the 7th of April, 1863—"For me, I only hope to have it said, and I ask nothing prouder, 'In the time of peril and darkness he helped to save the commonwealth.' "

Such is the last sad tribute of the soldiers' hearts over the death of their noble leader. 'Tis well;—his race of life is run. He now rests peacefully in the "valley of the shadow of death," where the stormy billows of war shall never again disturb him. He could die no nobler death; he could leave no nobler example for imitation—no prouder fame for admiration.

"He will be mourned as brave men mourn the brave,  
And wept as nations weep their cherished dead,  
With bitter but proud tears, and o'er his head  
The eternal flowers, whose root is in the grave,—  
The flowers of Fame—will grow beautiful and green;  
And by his grave's side pilgrim feet shall tread,  
And blessing, pure as men to martyrs give,  
Will there be breathed by those he died to save."

It is well here to give an accurate idea of the country over which our army was soon to pass and meet the foe, upon another most important occasion of our war. We have elsewhere stated that the

positions of our army, upon ceasing its pursuit of General Bragg, were taken on a front extending from McMinnville on the left to Winchester on the right, with advance divisions at Pelham and Stevenson. In a distance varying from six to fifteen miles in front of these positions rose the Cumberland mountains, a lofty mass of rocks which have previously been described. They extend in a south-westerly direction from Eastern Kentucky, and terminate near Athens, in Alabama. It is the dividing ridge that separates the streams which debouch into the Cumberland from those which flow into the Tennessee. Its northern slope is steep and rocky. Here and there it is diversified with hollows or coves, in which head several beautiful streams that fertilize Middle Tennessee. The southern slope, as far east as Chattanooga, is the same in character. Crow and Battle Creeks have their source in the coves upon this slope, and flow south-westerly, emptying into the Tennessee. The valley of the Tennessee, north of the river, is narrow, varying from two to five miles in width. The Sequatchy valley is the name of another canon, which runs transversely through the mountain range, completely dividing it in twain. Through the centre of this valley flows the Sequatchy river—a considerable stream which, rising in East Tennessee, empties into the Tennessee a few miles eastward of Battle Creek. That portion of the mountains which ascends to the eastward of the Sequatchy, runs in a southeasterly direction, and abuts abruptly on the Tennes-

see, is called Walden's Ridge. The roads leading over the mountains are few—nothing but narrow paths, and much broken up—roads which the artillery and wagons could only move upon with great difficulty. One is the Thierman road, before alluded to, which runs from McMinnville, and the other roads between that place and Decherd, all of which converge at Altamont. Another road runs from Decherd to Cowan, thence to the University and across to Battle Creek. There is still another road, by way of Tantallon, to Anderson. The Nashville and Chattanooga railroad crosses the mountains through a low gap, by means of a tunnel, west of the Sequatchy and east of Cowan, thence down the deep, wild gorge of Crow Creek to Stevenson, Alabama, where it connects with the Memphis and Charleston railroad. West of the railroad is a very rough path, by way of Mount Top and the gorge of Crow Creek, to Stevenson. Another ascends by the way of Salem and Larkin's Fork, thence to Bellefonte, near the Tennessee. Still further to the westward is a road much less mountainous, by way of Fayetteville and Athens, thence to Whitesburg, on the Tennessee. The Tennessee is a wide and rapid stream, which follows along the base of the Cumberland mountains and its spurs from Kingston to Stevenson. Near Chattanooga it seems to burst through the solid sides of the mountain masses, separating by its channel chasm the Cumberland from Missionary Ridge. The Look-Out and Sand mountains, which, stretching northward

from the Etowah and the Coosa, here abut abruptly, presenting towering walls of scarped and inaccessible rock. There were no bridges across the river, the enemy having destroyed them upon our approach. Having crossed the Tennessee, you move in a southeasterly direction, and soon encounter the Sand mountains—high and precipitous, and almost impracticable of ascent. Beyond this lies Look-Out valley, through which runs Look-Out creek, and then Look-Out mountain. The latter is a mighty palisade, towering higher and higher as it nears the Tennessee, and rising to an altitude of more than one thousand feet. The Memphis and Charleston railroad follows nearly the course of the Tennessee from Bridgeport, and enters Chattanooga by passing across the face of the mountain and on the very edge of its precipitous side. The only practicable wagon roads over this mountain are three—one which crosses just south of the railroad, another at Johnson's Crook, some thirty miles distant, and the third at Winston's Gap, twelve miles farther south and west. East of the Look-Out range is a continual succession of hills and valleys, some of them rightfully claiming the dignity of low mountain ranges, the former steep and wooded, the latter narrow and generally watered by some little stream. The two most important ones are Chattanooga creek and the Chickamauga. Missionary Ridge, the first of these mountain ridges, separates the waters of these two streams. South and east of the Chickamauga is Pigeon mountain, a branch of


Look-Out, and beyond this lies Taylor's Ridge, which stretches away towards Dalton, at which point the East Tennessee and Georgia and the Chattanooga and Atlanta railroads connect. In the triangular valley formed by Look-Out and Missionary Ridge, as they approach the Tennessee, is Chattanooga.

There are, then, four routes by which the army could move upon Chattanooga: first, from McMinnville and the roads connecting with it to Pikesville, then turning the head of the Sequatchy valley, and thence across the mountains; second, by the Thierman road, crossing the main chain at Altamont, then descending into the Sequatchy valley and crossing Walden's Ridge; third, by crossing the mountains to Battle Creek, Bellefonte or Stevenson, thence across the Tennessee, and by way of the Sand mountains, Look-Out valley and the nose of Look-Out mountain; or, fourth, by way of Pigeon mountain, Missionary Ridge and Chattanooga valley.

The troops were in motion on the 16th of August. General Crittenden's corps moved in three columns from Hillsboro, Manchester and McMinnville, over the Cumberland mountains, to Thierman, Dunlap and Pikesville, in Sequatchy valley. The cavalry moved on his left by Sparta, covering the left flank and protecting it against attack by Dibrell's or Forrest's cavalry. General Thomas's corps moved over the mountains by way of the University, to Battle Creek and Crow Creek, near the Tennessee. General McCook's corps moved as follows: General Davis's

division from Winchester to near Stevenson, Alabama, by way of Mount Top and Crow Creek. Sheridan's division was already at Stevenson and Bridgeport, whither it had been advanced upon the completion of the railroad to that point. The SECOND DIVISION moved from Tullahoma, by way of Winchester, Salem and Larkin's Fork, to Bellefonte. Cavalry protected General McCook's right flank, moving by way of Fayetteville and Athens, striking the Tennessee at Whitesburg, west of Bellefonte. These movements were promptly executed, and the army arrived at its specified points of destination by the 21st of August. The march of the SECOND DIVISION was rapid and tiresome. It left its encampment late in the afternoon of the 16th of August, crossing Elk river at midnight, where it bivouacked until four o'clock in the morning, amidst a drenching rain. It then moved on, passing through Winchester and Salem; thence through Paint Rock valley and across the mountains, arriving at Bellefonte in the afternoon of the 21st.

The distance from Tullahoma to Winchester is sixteen miles. From Tullahoma to Estell Springs is ten miles. The country between these points is heavily timbered; the land not hilly or abrupt, but high and rolling. The rolls are of mixed clay and sand, and the highway over these is durable; but the intervals are low, swampy, and almost impassable to army transportation. At Estell Springs the country becomes suddenly hilly, almost mountainous,



and is in fact a spur of the Coffee hills. At the base of these hills winds a small creek of crystal water, which debouches into Elk river near Allisonia. The scenery is wild and picturesque: high hills crowned with forests, lovely valleys and shaded dells.

From Allisonia to Winchester the country was more open, and presented ample evidence of human occupancy. On every hand were large and splendid plantations, well fenced and well cultivated. In an ample grove of chestnuts and magnolias stood the planter's residence, looking the picture of comfort and ease, reared in the lap of luxury. Fields of grain waved in the summer breeze, orchards were laden with the abundance of fast-ripening fruit, and the roadways were lined with delicious blackberries.

Four miles from Allisonia you ascend gradually a high hill. This gained, you desire to rest, when a lovely landscape presents itself. At its southerly base meanders Wagner's Creek; away to the left the Boiling Fork of Elk river sparkles in the sunlight; midway between the two, on the topmost roll of earth, embowered in a mass of dark green foliage, is Winchester—the dome of Mary Sharp College crowning all, like a pharos of white stone.

Winchester is a beautiful town, and in times of peace numbered one thousand white population. Its streets run at regular angles, and are of good width. The sidewalks are mostly in excellent repair, and the town is suburban in its aspect of green wilderness. In the centre of the public square stands the Court



House—a large, square, two-story brick structure, but rather antique in its style of architecture. There are several churches, representing the leading denominations. There is also a female seminary, which is well endowed, and entitled “Mary Sharp College,” a lady of that name being the principal donor.

There are very few, if any, Union residents in this county. The voice of Freedom and Union has no utterance: it is banished like an outlaw and outcast. Three regiments of infantry, a battalion of cavalry, and one artillery company have been recruited from this county alone, to fight in the rebel cause. The cavalry battalion was raised subsequent to the battle of Stone River.

From Winchester to Salem the country was open and beautiful. Passing Salem it became rough and hilly. The rain of the previous night made the roads muddy and difficult of travel. The march continued until nearly midnight, and the division crossed Larkin's Fork seventeen times within a distance of five miles. The ascent of the mountains at this point was very much the same in character as that which occurred the year previous. It was commenced on the 19th and consummated on the 20th instant. The 21st witnessed the arrival of the division at Bellefonte, and here it enjoyed a respite for a season.

Bellefonte is a small village, prettily located near the Tennessee, and on the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad. It is possessed of some splendid springs of water, and is noted as the residence of a

rebel Congressman, named Cobb. The encampment here was named in memory of Colonel Von Trebra. The Thirty-fourth Illinois was detailed as Provost guard at this place.

The rest of the army along the north bank of the Tennessee was temporary. Meantime the Michigan Engineers, the Pioneers and heavy details of infantry were busy in the construction of pontoons, trestles and rafts, whereby to cross the river and move upon the enemy. It was evident the ordeal of battle was not far distant, either as to time or place.

## CHAPTER. XVIII.

### THE BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA.

THE movement of the army across the Tennessee commenced on the 29th of August. The crossing was made in boats at Shell Mound, on rafts at Battle Creek, on a trestle bridge at Bridgeport, and on pontoons at Caperton's Ferry, opposite Stevenson. General Thomas having crossed his command at these different points, traversed the Sand mountains and concentrated near Trenton, in Georgia. He then sent an adequate force to seize Frick's, Cooper's and Stevens's Gaps, in the Look-Out range. The valley along these gaps is termed McLemore's Cove. General Crittenden moved to Wauhatchie, in Look-Out valley, joining General Thomas, with his right up the valley, towards Trenton, and threatening Chattanooga across the nose of Look-Out mountain. General McCook crossed at Bridgeport and Caperton's Ferry, pushed boldly over the Sand mountains and into the valley, and seized Winston's Gap at its head. The cavalry made demonstrations towards Alpine and Rome.

The SECOND DIVISION left its encampment at Bellefonte, Alabama, on the 31st of August, and crossed the river at Caperton's Ferry on the 31st of August and the 1st of September. Here the Thirty-fourth Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Van Tassel,<sup>1</sup> was detached to guard the crossing, where it remained until about the 1st of October, when it was ordered to the mouth of Battle Creek, to protect the pontoons across that stream, and over which all the supplies for the army at Chattanooga were crossed until the 6th of November. The remainder of the command successfully crossed the Sand or Raccoon mountains on the 2d of September, and encamped for some days near Winston's House (termed by some Winston's Gap), situated at the foot of Look-Out mountain, and within the Alabama line. A road leads from this house to the top of the mountain, whence it forks, one leading to Rome, the other to Chattanooga. While here a heavy reconnoissance was ordered to Summerville, in Broomtown valley, beyond Look-Out range, by the cavalry under Stanley, supported

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1. Lieutenant Colonel Oscar Van Tassel was born on the 16th day of December, 1835, in the town of Somers, West Chester county, New York. When fourteen years old his parents removed to Putnam county, in that State, where he learned the milling trade. When nineteen years old he removed to Illinois, working at his trade in several places, among them Aurora, Moline and Grand de Tour. While at this last place the rebellion broke out, and he at once engaged in recruiting a company, which was mustered into the service with the Thirty-fourth Illinois on the 7th of September, 1861, and he was elected and commissioned captain. He led his company gallantly through the battle of Shiloh, and was promoted lieutenant colonel on the 14th of February, 1863, a rank which he still holds. He was severely wounded in the arm at the battle of Stone River. He is an excellent soldier, a thorough disciplinarian, and a very popular officer.

by the division under General Davis. Meantime the information gained from deserters of the rebel cavalry was that Longstreet's Virginia forces were on their way to reinforce Bragg; that Breckenridge's division was at Rome, and that the Confederate War Department had ordered Bragg to evacuate Chattanooga and fall back towards Atlanta, on the Georgia State road, to await reinforcements. At the same time Stanley was operating in Broomtown valley, other reconnoissances were made by the centre and left. General Thomas crossed Look-Out mountain with his corps in force at Frick's, Cooper's and Stevens's Gaps, and seized the head of McLemore's Cove. General Crittenden advanced up Look-Out near Chattanooga, to Summertown, by a dangerous path called Nickajack Trace, with the three-fold object of watching the enemy's movements at Chattanooga, resisting any attack he might make on our left flank, and to occupy Chattanooga, should our flanking dispositions compel him to evacuate that place. A large body of our cavalry was also ordered to push down the Alpine and Broomtown valleys, and strike the railroad between Resaca Bridge and Dalton. On the 9th of September General Crittenden developed the fact that the enemy had retreated from Chattanooga on the previous day and night, and he occupied the town that afternoon, and moved his advance on the 10th instant to Rossville, at the entrance of Chattanooga valley. The weight of evidence now showed that the enemy was concentrating at Lafayette; Crit-

tenden therefore pushed his advance to Ringgold and reconnoitred to Gordon's Mills. General Thomas had already debouched from the passes of Look-Out, and was steadily moving on Lafayette through Dry Gap of Pigeon mountain. General Negley<sup>2</sup> led the advance, and met with stout resistance. Ascertaining by scouts that the enemy was moving upon him in force, he retired to a strong position in front of Stevens's Gap. Here the corps of General Thomas concentrated. General McCook was also ordered in pursuit, and on the 10th of September crossed the mountain to Alpine. It was now also ascertained that Johnston's Mississippi army had reinforced General Bragg, and it became evident that our army would soon be attacked by an overwhelming force—

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2. Major General James S. Negley was born on the 26th of December, 1826, in East Liberty, Alleghany county, Pennsylvania. He is of Swiss descent. He entered college at an early age, but left it upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, and enlisted as a private in the First Pennsylvania Infantry, and in that capacity fought at Puebla and Cerro Gordo. On returning home he engaged in the manufacture of agricultural and railroad machinery, but soon abandoned it for the science of agriculture and horticulture, in which he displayed scientific ability. In October, 1861, he raised his famous brigade, and joined the Second Division. In March he was detached and assigned a division, with which he performed effective duty in Middle Tennessee. In September, 1862, when the army evacuated the country, he was left with two small divisions to garrison Nashville. At the battle of Stone River his bravery won the applause of all, and for his gallant conduct on that field he was promoted major general. In the Tullahoma campaign he rendered efficient service. At Chickamauga he did all that mortal man could, and saved the greater part of the artillery of the army. In the excitement incident to that battle, in the criminations that ensued among some officers, he was charged with disobedience of orders and court-martialed, but was triumphantly acquitted. He has no command at present.

General Negley is a man of large and powerful frame, and possesses strong intellectual faculties. He has a genial nature, and is companionable to all. He cherishes the good name of his soldiers, and treats them like men; he is consequently popular with them. The army never had a more patriotic soldier or a more faithful commander.


in fact, by the entire rebel army of the South-West, excepting the trans-Mississippi troops, aided by a veteran corps of the Potomac army. Our army was in a very bad position to resist such an attack. It extended from Gordon's Mills, on Chickamauga Creek, on the left, to Alpine on the right, a distance of fully fifty miles. There must be a rapid concentration, or our army would be annihilated in detail. At midnight on the 12th of September General McCook was ordered to march to the assistance of General Thomas with all possible dispatch; he therefore recalled the Thirty-ninth Indiana mounted infantry, which had been ordered to occupy Lafayette at all hazards, in order to develop the enemy's intention, also the cavalry under General Stanley, and at daylight moved with his corps directly from Alpine, *en route* for Dougherty's Gap, at the head of McLe-more's Cove. The trains of the corps were left at Winston's, on the west side of Look-Out and on the mountain side. A brigade from each division was ordered to guard and escort them either to Lafayette or Stevens's Gap, as circumstances might require. The second brigade of the SECOND DIVISION aided in this duty. The day was passed by the corps in a tedious struggle to advance to Dougherty's Gap; but later in the day dispatches from General Garfield, chief of staff, and General Thomas, made it apparent that it was not in our possession, and it was not certain that it was not held by the enemy. Polk's corps had been reported at Tryon Springs, and could easily

have reached it. It would not do to risk an advance in that direction, when the order was to join General Thomas at once. General McCook's only course then was to recross the mountain at Winston's and march down Look-Out valley ; he therefore directed General Stanley to advance and seize Dougherty's Gap, if possible, and countermarched his infantry and artillery. Arriving nearly opposite to Stevens's Gap, he again moved over the mountain through Cooper's Gap, and on the 17th of September connected his line with that of General Thomas. Sheridan joined Thomas on the right at Stevens's Gap ; Davis next, at Dug Gap ; the SECOND DIVISION at Pond Springs, near Catlett's Gap. General Thomas then moved down Chickamauga Creek, towards Gordon's Mills. General Crittenden still held that point, his line resting along the creek, by way of Crawfish Spring. Such was substantially the position of our troops on the evening of the 17th of September.

Meantime the enemy was making strong demonstrations with his cavalry, constantly moving towards our left, with the evident intention of obtaining possession of the Chattanooga and Lafayette road, thus cutting off our army from the objective point in the campaign, and forcing it to battle under great disadvantages and against overwhelming odds. On the 18th the enemy's cavalry crossed the Chickamauga at Alexander's and Reed's bridges, engaged our cavalry under Marty, and drove it back into the Ross-ville road. He also made heavy demonstrations up



the Chickamauga, and for a distance of more than four miles clouds of dust filled the air during the day, indicating that either a feint or an actual attack was intended on that flank. The nature of the ground—rough, hilly, and mostly timbered—rendered it very difficult to understand the enemy's movements and make the proper dispositions to repel the real blow. General Rosecrans issued his orders for the army to move down the Chickamauga in the order of battle, for the purpose of securing the Chattanooga and Lafayette road, and thus present a most determined front to the enemy as it fell back upon Chattanooga. But the enemy pressed heavily on the left, and it was evident that a battle could not long be stayed. To secure the best position for a line of battle was now the great object. General Thomas was directed to relieve General Crittenden by posting a division at Crawfish Springs, while he removed the remainder of his corps to the Rossville and Lafayette road, his left extending obliquely across it, near Kelly's house. General Crittenden, with two divisions, Van Cleve's and Palmer's, was ordered to draw the enemy from the Rossville road and form line of battle on the left of General Wood, who was strongly posted at Gordon's Mills. General McCook was ordered to close up to General Thomas, to hold the position at Crawfish Springs, protect General Crittenden's right, and hold his corps mainly in reserve. The main cavalry force formed on General McCook's right. It was its duty to watch the crossings of the Chickamauga




at the bridges and fords. This concentration was effected by daylight on the 19th instant.

The line of battle, as formed on the morning of the 19th of September, was substantially this: Brannan held the extreme left, his front extending across the road leading from Alexander's to Reed's bridges. Baird came next on the right, resting on the Lafayette road, and then Reynolds. Two divisions of Crittenden's corps held the centre, Palmer joining the right of Reynolds, and Van Cleve next to Palmer. Negley and Wood were holding Owen's Ford, near Lee's and Gordon's Mills, which was the extreme right of the line. The SECOND DIVISION, and those of Davis and Sheridan, all of General McCook's corps, were moving from their position at and near the Crawfish Springs, for the purpose of supporting Thomas. The distance from the right to the left of the line was fully six miles. Meantime General Granger's reserve corps had crossed the Tennessee and reached Ross-ville. From this point he threw out his forces to Ringgold, Reed's bridge, and other points, to cover the left flank of our line. On the 18th Colonels McCook and Minty had a brisk fight in disputing the crossing of the enemy at Reed's bridge, and were finally forced to abandon it to him.

The next morning the Sixty-ninth Ohio Infantry, of Colonel McCook's command, charged and surprised the enemy, drove him across the Chickamauga and burned Reed's bridge. The enemy now gathered in greater force on the left, and one brigade crossed

to the west side of the stream. General Thomas, hearing that the bridge was burned, and that a brigade was on this side, directed General Brannan to move rapidly to the river and capture the isolated force, if possible. He soon engaged it, and drove it half a mile or more, when he came upon a large body of the enemy, who was moving to turn our left flank by gaining possession of the Chattanooga road in our rear. Brannan's movement defeated this plan, but precipitated the battle of Chickamauga. Our position was on rolling ground, a succession of hills and ravines, mostly heavily timbered, with a few open fields in front of the line. Chickamauga creek extended along the entire front, and formed a defile which aided in the defence. The enemy concentrated his entire strength on the opposite bank of the Chickamauga, and crossed principally at Alexander's and Reed's bridges. He advanced in overwhelming force, and at once hurled our advance back upon the main line. The onslaught on Brannan's command was fierce, but he contested the ground obstinately. Other rebel troops arrived, forming on the left, and engaged Baird. He, too, fought gallantly, but being overpowered, his right was giving way in disorder just as the SECOND DIVISION moved to his support.

The SECOND DIVISION formed its line of battle in the following order : The second brigade, Colonel J. B. Dodge, was assigned the right ; the first brigade, General Willich, the centre ; the third brigade, Colonel P. P. Baldwin, the left. The order of battle in



the first brigade was—for the first line, the Thirty-second Indiana, Colonel Frank Erdelmeyer, on the right, and the Forty-ninth Ohio, Major S. F. Gray, on the left; for the second line, the Eighty-ninth Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel D. J. Hall, on the right, and the Fifteenth Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Frank Askew, on the left. The second brigade was formed with the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel T. E. Rose, and the Seventy-ninth Illinois, Colonel A. Buckner, in the first line, and the Twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel D. M. Dunn,<sup>8</sup> and the Thirtieth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel O. D. Hurd, in the second line. The third brigade was likewise formed in two lines—the First Ohio, Lieutenant Colonel Langdon, on the right, and the Louisville Legion,

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8. Lieutenant Colonel David M. Dunn was born in South Hanover, Jefferson county, Indiana. He graduated at Hanover College, in that State, in 1839, studied law in Logansport, Indiana, and was admitted to practice in the courts of that State. He was a second lieutenant in the First Indiana Infantry during the war against Mexico. He returned home in August, 1847, and was appointed clerk in the "Wabash and Erie Canal Land Office," located at Logansport, and was subsequently chosen cashier of the "Hoosier Bank," at Logansport. In 1856 he was elected president of the Toledo, Logansport and Burlington railroad, and continued in this position until the outbreak of the rebellion. He then assisted in raising the Ninth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, and was elected its lieutenant colonel, in which capacity he acted in the affairs of Philippi, Laurel Hill and Carrix Ford. By order of Governor Morton he was transferred to the Twenty-ninth Indiana Volunteers on the 30th of August, 1862. At Stone River, being forced to retire, he formed his command in an excellent defensive position, most heartily approved of by General Kirk, then wounded, and rode away to obtain support for his gallant boys, that they might repulse the enemy in the next attack, and was shortly afterwards captured. He was exchanged in the early summer of 1863, and resumed command. At Chickamauga he again displayed great heroism and ability as a commander, but came near being captured again while paying a visit to the wounded of his regiment at the field hospital, by the swinging in of the rebel left. He is a polished gentleman, a noble soldier, a worthy commander, and the regiment has evinced its regard for him by re-enlisting as veteran volunteers under his command as colonel of the regiment.

Colonel W. W. Berry, on the left, in the first line ; the Sixth Indiana, Lieutenant Colonel Tripp, on the right, and the Ninety-third Ohio, Colonel Hiram Strong, on the left, in the second line. Each regiment in the second line was formed into double column on the centre. Goodspeed's, Grosskoppf's and Simonson's batteries were to the rear and centre of their respective brigades.

The division line of battle extended over considerable ground, there being intervals of about five hundred yards between the brigades. Skirmishers were at once thrown forward, and ordered to feel the enemy and ascertain his strength on the immediate division front. Steadily they advanced, and soon encountered the enemy's skirmishers, when a brisk and determined fire ensued. The line moved on, constantly pushing the enemy back, until having gained a distance of perhaps three hundred paces, he opened with artillery. Simonson, on the left, ever ready, replied, and a few well-directed shots silenced the enemy's fire. The skirmishers of the third brigade then advanced, pouring a constant and telling fire into the enemy's ranks, and driving him back for nearly a mile. The brigade was now to a great extent isolated, the only support it had being the other two brigades of the division, which had also advanced in an oblique line, charging the enemy and utterly routing him on their fronts. General Johnson, realizing how exposed was their position, and fearful that if he made further pursuit he might meet with other rebel

forces and be urged to an unequal contest, and perhaps be cut off from the army, ordered a halt. The men were much surprised that they were forbidden to push the advantage gained; but they knew not their relative position with the rest of our army. The skirmishers of the third brigade soon reported that the enemy, greatly reinforced, was again moving directly upon their left flank, with the evident purpose of turning it. Colonel Baldwin reported this fact to Generals Johnson and Willich, and promptly made dispositions to meet this movement of the foe. The Ninety-third Ohio was then ordered to the front and deployed in line of battle on the left of the Louisville Legion. Skirmishers were thrown forward from that regiment under command of Major William Birch,<sup>4</sup> and immediately engaged the enemy, suffering

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4. Major William Birch was born on the 16th of August, 1833, in the village of Glassop, Derbyshire, England, and emigrated to the United States with his father's family in 1844. He worked with his father as a machinist in Brookville, Indiana, where the family resided for several years; also at Hamilton, Ohio, to which place he removed in March, 1855. He was much esteemed in the community as a fine mechanic—a man of industry, probity, and great independence, blended with great kindness, and as an earnest, intelligent Christian. In 1861 he entered as a private one of the volunteer companies raised in Dayton. He was in the skirmish under General Schenck, near Vienna, and in the battle of Bull Run. On the expiration of his term of service he returned home, but soon re-enlisted in the Sixteenth Indiana for nine months, and was under General McClellan, in Virginia, during the uneventful winter of 1861 and 1862. In August, 1862, he raised a company for the Ninety-third Ohio, which regiment joined the Second Division at Louisville. In 1863 he was promoted major of that regiment, to the gratification of all who knew him. He commanded the regiment from the battle of Chickamauga until his death, and how faithfully and heroically he bore himself in that capacity there are innumerable testimonies. At Missionary Ridge, on the 23d of November, as he was leading his men against a rebel breast-work, the color-bearer fell, and he caught the flag, when a Minnie ball passed across his upper forehead, dashing the skull bone in on the brain. He handed the flag to another without falling, motioned for water, stepped a few paces and fell! He never spoke after he was shot, nor showed any signs of consciousness. He died on the morning of the 25th.

a heavy loss. The fight now raged in deadly earnest. The musketry fire was one steady roll, without even a second's cessation. The enemy threw solid shot and shell, which were aimed with accuracy and tore through the ranks, killing and wounding scores of gallant men. He seemed maddened to desperation, and resolved to crush our line. He advanced within fifty yards of our position and dealt death fearfully; but our men were equally determined to maintain their ground, and delivered their fire with the utmost coolness. The enemy failed to gain any advantage, and after a contest of half an hour withdrew; but the noble Colonel Strong,<sup>5</sup> of the Ninety-third Ohio, had fallen, and was borne mortally wounded from the field. The withdrawal was only momentary,

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5. Colonel Strong was in the prime of life, being only in his thirty-eighth year. He graduated at Miami University in 1846, and was admitted to the bar in 1849, in Cincinnati, where he continued in successful practice until August, 1862 when he was made lieutenant colonel of the Ninety-third Ohio. Upon the resignation of Colonel Charles Anderson, who was elected Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, he was promoted to the colonelcy. He was wounded on the afternoon of the 19th of September. Painful and dangerous from the first, his friends had, nevertheless, hopes of his recovery until within a day or so before his death. He was conveyed from Chattanooga to Nashville, his men carrying him down the mountains in a litter on their shoulders, rather than see him suffer pain from the jolting of an ambulance; but he died shortly afterwards.

His character was a model. He was a just man and scrupulously honest. Frank, open and fair himself, he despised cunning, deceit and trickery. As a speaker he was forcible, not ornate, and strove to convince rather than to please. As a lawyer there was no safer counsel at the bar. No cause suffered in his hands for want of attention. He despised injustice, and never knowingly took a retainer on the side of oppression. In his professional intercourse he was kind, courteous and gentlemanly. As a soldier he was ever at the post of duty, was exact in his discipline, and paid the strictest attention to the most minute details. He had won the confidence of his superiors, and was the idol of his men. Having no military knowledge when he entered the army, he had become perfectly familiar with his duties, and made the Ninety-third one of the best disciplined regiment in the field.

however. He soon renewed the attack with redoubled fury, and audaciously sought to plant a section of artillery within seventy-five yards of the left front of the Ninety-third Ohio. At this juncture the Sixth Indiana arrived at the front and deployed into line on the left of the Ninety-third Ohio. The first fire of these two regiments killed every horse in the rebel battery, besides placing *hors de combat* more than half the men. The remaining artillerists succeeded in firing one round of grape into our line which made a serious gap, but it instantly closed and showed a solid front. Then Colonel Baldwin, commanding the brigade, seized the battle-colors of the Ninety-third Ohio, and ordered that regiment and the Sixth Indiana to charge the enemy. It was a fearful but noble sight. Leading was the chivalrous Baldwin, with the colors streaming in the air above; close behind were the two regiments moving on the "double-quick," and presenting a wall of glistening steel. The charge was rapid and brilliant—the rout of the enemy complete. The two pieces of rebel artillery (brass twelve-pounders) were left in our hands. Lieutenant Gallup, acting adjutant, and twelve men of the Ninety-third Ohio, drew off one of the pieces and delivered it to Captain Simonson, chief of artillery. The other having been disabled by one of Simonson's guns, was abandoned. These two regiments now returned to the brigade, and the whole force was employed in throwing up temporary breastworks of logs and brush. It was now nearly



night, and it was hoped that the fight for that day had ended. The brigade had behaved nobly, having been under fire almost constantly since ten o'clock in the morning, and the men needed refreshment and repose.

But the third brigade was not alone in the fray. Willich, too, had been eager to display the mettle of his men. His skirmishers had moved forward some distance, drawing and returning the enemy's fire. At first the resistance was slight, but as his line advanced it became more determined, and very soon settled into obstinate fighting. The supporting companies reinforced the skirmish line, and for some time they maintained their ground, and indeed gained much from the enemy. At last the enemy's line was strengthened, and he hurled a terrific musketry fire into Willich's advance. He then moved his brigade into line of battle, and a bitter contest ensued. The enemy rolled up in great waves and delivered his fire, and then, decimated by the fearful volleys he received, retired, and fresh troops renewed the carnage. He repeatedly charged Willich's front, but was each time repulsed, leaving many killed and wounded in our hands. Soon a full battery of artillery was planted by the enemy directly upon the right front of the Forty-ninth Ohio, and at close range hurled its grape and canister. The brigade was ordered to lie down to avoid this scathing fire, while a section of Captain Goodspeed's battery, under Lieutenant C. W. Scoville, opened upon his guns. The execution was splendid,

and soon discomfited the enemy. General Willich then ordered a charge, the Eighty-ninth Illinois forming on the right of the Thirty-second Indiana. The bugle sounded "Forward!" and the men responded with a cheer and rushed upon the foe. It was quick work—short and decisive. On rushed the men, reckless of the death-shots falling thick and fast among them. The rebels retreated about one hundred yards, then faced about and made a most determined stand in defence of their artillery. Willich's line moved up so close to the rebel line that the men might have clubbed their muskets and fought hand to hand. Here for the space of full twenty minutes the deadly fray was waged, scores of braves crimsoning the earth with their blood. Finally the foe was worsted in the rencontre and beat a retreat. Our men, frantic with delight at their success, yelled like demons, and at the point of the bayonet charged the rebel artillery. The Eighty-ninth Illinois, on the right, captured one gun and a caisson; the Thirty-second Indiana two guns, three caissons and several prisoners; and the Forty-ninth Ohio two guns. The sixth gun the enemy succeeded in drawing off by hand, attaching prolonges, and discharging a most murderous fire of grape and shell. In the excitement of this most exciting contest the three right companies of the Eighty-ninth Illinois, in their zeal to capture the remaining piece, lost their alignment and threw the regiment into momentary confusion. Lieutenant Colonel Hall, seeing this, halted the command to

reform it, and thus the gun was lost. But it was well to halt and reform the line, for the foe, although driven back, was then partially reformed, and on the alert to take advantage of any break in our lines. At this juncture General Willich rode up amidst the shower of balls which the rebels still threw at a distance of not more than eighty paces, and complimented the gallantry of that regiment in its impetuous advance, calmed down its enthusiasm by his own cool conduct, formed a new alignment, and drilled it for a few minutes in the manual of arms. The brigade was then advanced some thirty yards, to the edge of an open field, where it lay down, and for two hours, in common with the division, held the enemy at bay. Captain Goodspeed<sup>6</sup> hauled the captured guns from the field with his caisson teams. This action was highly creditable, for the enemy directed upon him a withering fire; and indeed he was compelled to abandon a limber, so fearful was the stream of leaden hail.


Colonel Dodge formed his brigade into line of battle in the face of a galling fire. He found that the enemy's line ran in an oblique direction to his, and was well protected withal, while his command was exposed to an unequal contest. He accordingly changed front forward, deploying his whole column

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6. Captain W. F. Goodspeed was born in Massillon, Ohio. He was always engaged in the wholesale boot and shoe trade before he entered the service. He went in as first lieutenant, and was promoted to a captaincy. He is a thorough soldier and a skillful artillerist.

into line, to lessen the interval between him and General Willich's right. A steady fire of musketry was kept up for a few minutes, and the battery on the left and in front of General Willich threw a few solid shot over the line, by way of compliment. In front of the second brigade, and lying down, was Hazen's brigade of Palmer's division, which had been fighting most stubbornly and had exhausted its ammunition. Colonel Dodge, knowing that his men were comparatively fresh, while the enemy, fighting since morning, must be weary, ordered a charge on his position. Most gallantly did the men obey. The Twenty-ninth Indiana led on the right, then came the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, next the Seventy-ninth Illinois, while the Thirtieth Indiana formed the left. With a whoop and a yell they rushed down the hill, through the intervening ravine, and against the enemy. The charge was so impetuous that the foe made no determined stand, but fled in utter rout and confusion. Baldwin and Willich were also driving him on the left, and the Thirtieth Indiana passed within a few yards of the battery Willich captured. When nearly opposite these guns the brigade received a destructive fire of grape, which laid low many a gallant soul; and again it had to work its way through a heavy *abattis* of brush and logs, encountering a terrific volley of musketry which for a moment it was feared would annihilate it; but the living heroes passed over the dead and wounded, and pressed on, maddened at the slaughter. The

pursuit was made for nearly a mile and near to the Chickamauga creek. The brigade was then moved to the left and rear, and formed connection with Willich's line, the skirmishers of the Seventy-ninth and Eighty-ninth Illinois joining each other. The main line of the two brigades, however, was fully four hundred yards apart. The line of the division was now continuous, but there was no connection either on its right or left. Its advanced position had made it the extreme left of the army, while the troops upon its right, still engaged, were well to the rear and right. Strong skirmish lines covered the front and flanks of the division, and its right and left were well refused. About four o'clock Colonel Dodge, fearful that he might be attacked upon his right flank, and ignorant both of the presence of the enemy and the precise location of our own troops, sent out a strong detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Pyfer, of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, to examine the position of the enemy, and to ascertain, if possible, what troops were nearest on his right, and also the distance. In an hour he reported that the enemy was in force about five hundred yards in his front, under cover of a wooded ridge, and that General Turchin's brigade was on his right, but fully three quarters of a mile distant. The pickets upon the right flank were then strengthened, and every precaution was taken to guard against attack in that quarter. Thus affairs remained until nearly sundown.



Meantime the battle still raged fiercely away on the right, and General Johnson quietly held his ground, awaiting the advance of other troops to close up his line; but finally, despairing of receiving aid, and knowing well the danger of capture or rout if he occupied so isolated a position during the night, he prepared to withdraw, and had just issued orders for the first brigade to fall back when an attack was made on the third brigade. Evidently the bloody ordeal was to be repeated. Mars was not yet satisfied with the number of his victims; his mandate called for more. The enemy, now reinforced with fresh troops, and numerically twice as strong as the SECOND DIVISION, advanced to the attack with resistless energy. He moved like an avalanche, determined on annihilation. His line, obliquely formed, first struck the left and front of the third brigade, and then swiftly engaged the entire division front. In less than five minutes Baldwin, Willich and Dodge, directed by General Johnson, who, seeing the overwhelming attack, threw himself forward into the thickest of the fray, were battling fiercely in a life and death struggle. Probably the conflict that now ensued was one of the most furious that has occurred during the war. The enemy opened with the heaviest musketry and artillery fire the division had ever encountered. It far surpassed in intensity Shiloh or Stone River. The rebels charged the line of the third brigade like heroes of a hundred battles, and literally plowed the ground with bullets. Shell,

grape and canister swept through the ranks, and the air sang with the shrill dissonance of battle. The men of the third brigade, as veteran as the enemy, boldly stood up to the work, and like an iron wall repulsed each assault. Finally, the overwhelming pressure on the right forced the First Ohio to fall back; but the distance was trifling, and the regiment again opened fire upon the advancing foe. Such a din of sounds never was excelled in a contest among the same number of men. Captain Simonson, too, and his brave boys stood nobly to their pieces and served them with astonishing rapidity. The falling back of the First Ohio caused a slight waver in the ranks of the regiments upon its right, and Colonel Baldwin, fearing lest the line might fall back, galloped to the front of the Sixth Indiana, his own regiment, and shouted, "Follow me!" The noble soldiers obeyed; but they had moved scarcely a rod when their right became engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict, in which the bayonet was used with fearful power; and here, amidst the darkening shades of night, rendered more dark by the sulphurous canopy of smoke, and amidst a frightful storm of leaden hail, the gallant Colonel Baldwin fell, pierced with balls—as noble a soldier as yielded life upon the altar of our country on that carnage day. The line now fell back some distance and then reformed upon the Sixth Indiana, the First and Ninety-third Ohio on the right, and the Louisville Legion on the left. In this deadly conflict the heroic Major Thomasson, of







COL. P. P. BALDWIN.

the Louisville Legion, also fell. Captain Simonson, placed at a disadvantage by the position of the foe, and fearful of capture in the darkness when the brigade fell back, retreated with his battery, losing one piece by its becoming entangled in a tree and having the horses shot. At this critical juncture a regiment arrived to reinforce the line, and in the darkness supposing our men to be rebels, fired a volley, killing and wounding several, and then fled. The battle still raged, the men fighting in retreat hand to hand. It was then the gallant Captain Russell, of the Sixth Indiana, fell, while heroically combating with his sword.

Willich, too, maintained the conflict with his usual spirit, and received the rebel onset with a murderous volley. The enemy, repulsed with heavy loss, massed additional forces on his front and renewed the assault. Bravely his men contended for their ground. The Fifteenth Ohio, which had been lying as reserve, moved promptly to the front, deploying on the left of the Forty-ninth Ohio, and aided in the work; but the brigade was greatly outnumbered and forced to fall back, leaving its dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. It soon reformed in a semi-circle, and again hurled destruction upon the enemy. Nobly it sought to recover the lost ground, to regain its fallen comrades; but that it could not hope to do, the foe was so much superior in force. At one time there was a lull in the storm, and a rebel in a lusty tone called out, "Surrender, boys, and you're safe! Sur-

render!" One instantaneous and unanimous response of "Never!" and the crash of battle again resounded. Captain Goodspeed planted his battery first upon the flanks and then to the rear and centre of the brigade, and directed a constant fire of solid shot and shell against the enemy. His battery belching its lurid flames upon the deepening gloom, drew the fire of the rebel artillery; but his men faltered not, and served their pieces with admirable skill. Finally the enemy ceased firing on Willich's front and withdrew.

The rebel fire which struck Willich's line swept along Dodge's front with terrific energy, involving the skirmishers and forcing them back upon the main line. The rebel column moved up, closed into a hand-to-hand fight, and thenceforward the ground was most fiercely disputed. The fire was tremendous on either side, and no body of men could long withstand it. The second brigade, few in numbers, was compelled to fall back, the enemy closely plying it with musketry and artillery. Colonel Dodge, full of ardor and maddened at the slaughter inflicted on his comrades, assisted by regimental commanders, again rallied the brigade and opposed a resistance difficult to overcome. Colonel Buckner,<sup>7</sup> conspicuous here, as at

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7. Colonel Allen Buckner was born on the 8th of October, 1830, in York township, Clark county, Illinois. At the age of twenty-three he joined the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and soon became one of the pioneer ministers in that country. He continued in the ministry until July, 1861, doing good service among the people. He assisted in recruiting company H, Twenty-fifth Illinois Infantry, and was elected its first lieutenant. With musket in hand he led his company through the battle of Pea Ridge, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of March, 1863. After the siege of Corinth he tendered his resignation, in consequence of

Stone River, for his courage, seized the battle-colors of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, and shouted, "Boys, this is the OLD FLAG! Don't desert it! We must fight until it floats over all the land! Stand by it, boys—right here—there is no danger!" Yet the ear was deafened by the sound of flying missiles! Colonel Rose, Lieutenant colonels Pyfer, Dunn, Hurd and Rives, Majors Collins, Fitzsimmons and Phillips, all displayed great gallantry, remaining with their men like true soldiers and directing them in the combat.

This contest, the fiercest ever waged by the second brigade, lasted about twenty minutes, and was frightful in its slaughter. Suddenly the enemy ceased his fire and fell back; but Willich and Baldwin, on the left, were still involved, and heavily, Nor was the contest ended with the second brigade. Under cover of the darkness which now veiled the earth, the foe had withdrawn, silently moved well to the right, and again advanced with a hideous yell directly upon the right flank and rear of the brigade. Here another fearful scene occurred. The two forces closed into the same line and fought desperately with the bayo-

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affliction in his family. He was hardly at home before another call was made by the President. He then assisted in the formation of the Seventy-ninth Illinois, of which he was appointed chaplain; but on the organization of the regiment he was elected major, and promoted colonel on the 1st of January, 1863. At Missionary Ridge, on the 25th of November, 1863, he led his gallant command up the heights, charged the enemy in his chosen rifle pits, and captured two heavy pieces of artillery, twenty pounders, named "Lady Buckner" and "Lady Breckenridge." He has nobly earned the soubriquet of the "Fighting Parson." In the late battle at Resaca, Georgia, he was severely if not mortally wounded.

net; many clubbed their muskets and felled each other to the ground; officers drew their swords and cut to pieces their combatants. But in this affair the brigade was worsted. It could not cope successfully with such a foe. In the darkness and desperation of the fight the greater part of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania and nearly half of the Seventy-ninth Illinois had got in the rear of the rebel line, and were captured. Many of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Indiana shared the same fate. Rose, Pyfer and Phillips, of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Collins, of the Twenty-ninth, and Fitzsimmons, of the Thirtieth Indiana, the latter already wounded, were captured. Fully four hundred out of eleven hundred and thirty, the strength of the brigade in the morning, were then lost, besides the killed and wounded, which had been many. There was a mere handful left now. The enemy still sought to break the second line, but failed, and so retired with his prisoners, his skirmishers only keeping up a rapid but desultory fire.

The Twentieth Ohio battery, which had participated in the early part of this night struggle, but which had been ordered back by Colonel Dodge, when the enemy menaced his right flank, became now the rallying point of the brigade. At this juncture General Johnson rode forward, complimented the men for their gallantry, and ordered them to the rear for the night. The division deployed column and bivouacked near the Chattanooga road, and near

the position of its first formation in the forenoon. Thus ended the battle of the SECOND DIVISION for the 19th of September. The night struggle was fearfully sublime—such a scene as is rarely witnessed on the field of battle—a scene never to be forgotten by those who participated in it. The incessant roll of musketry, the thunder of the cannon, the explosion of shell and the crash of solid shot, the darkness which revealed neither friend nor foe, save when illumined by the lurid flash of the weapons of death, the clash of bayonets, the yell, the shout, the fall of comrades—all were terrible, and can but thrill the soul of humanity with horror as it reflects upon that sanguinary hour.

Night closed the battle day. The forces on the right of the SECOND DIVISION had fought most nobly against overpowering numbers. Generals Palmer, Van Cleve, Reynolds, Davis, Wood, Sheridan and Negley successively saved each the other and stayed the rebel tide. The enemy had every where been repulsed, and our army had gained full possession of the Rossville and Dry Valley roads to Chattanooga. Our cavalry covered Missionary Ridge and the valley of the Chickamauga—the great object of the battle of that day. But the strife was not ended. The night wore slowly and sadly away. The pale-faced moon shone faintly over the field of carnage, and silently performed her nightly voyage. The two armies lay near each other, weary, wan, and terribly decimated, waiting for sunrise that they might renew

the struggle and still further press the conflict. The hospitals presented a busy scene. Hundreds were undergoing the amputation of limbs, and hundreds more were dying from their mortal wounds; while hundreds more of dead and wounded men lay between the lines of the two armies—the former unconscious of pain, the latter shivering and moaning from the biting coldness of that first September frost. The ambulances and their attendants traversed the field of battle and the open space, picking up the wounded and administering the soothing cordials. But even this sacred mission was fraught with danger. The enemy with heartless infamy ever and anon directed a musketry fire on the hospital train, and on several occasions hurled solid shot, destroying ambulances and killing men and teams. Humanity will judge if this be civilized warfare, and whether a people who persistently pursue such barbarous practices be worthy of nationality and the recognition of States.

Towards morning all was activity. Our army fell back to a better defensive position, contracting its lines and preparing for battle. The immense trains of the army were rapidly moved towards Chattanooga, and the hospitals were changed more to the rear and left—a course necessitated by the concentration of the army on that flank.

The new position of the army was a good one—much better than it had held the previous day. The line of battle now extended along a cross-road which runs in a north-east and south-west direction, and

connects the Rossville with the Chattanooga and Lafayette road. The flanks of the line rested upon the lower spurs of the mountains. The position at Gordon's Mills was held by Lytle's brigade, now an isolated but important point. Sheridan, well in the rear, near the Widow Glenn's house, which had been the army headquarters on the 19th, was next on the left; then came Davis's division, with Laiboldt's brigade in reserve; then Wood and Brannan, with a brigade in reserve; then Reynolds's division, with Van Cleve in reserve; Palmer came next, his front crossing the Lafayette road, his right somewhat refused and resting securely; the SECOND DIVISION joined him; then came Baird's division and the brigade of John Beatty. The cavalry still protected the flanks, while Granger's corps covered the left and rear. Such was the general formation of our line of battle on that morning. The army was concentrated on the left; that was the vital point—the right was weak. Evidently the impending battle was to be fought, on our part, for the safety—nay, the very existence of the army, and the occupation of Chattanooga—the great object of the movement across the Tennessee. The field of battle was almost one vast forest. Here and there were fields and clearings, but our lines seldom occupied them. Where necessity compelled the line to front a clearing, it skirted the edge of the timber. The ground occupied by our troops was very undulating—a succession of hills and ravines.



It was Sunday. Would there be a battle? The soldiers were satisfied that if there was Bragg would be the attacking party, as General Rosecrans never voluntarily fights on that day. Prudence dictated ample preparations to meet the assault, and so the army was busily engaged from daylight until eight o'clock in erecting rude breastworks of logs and stones.

As predicted by the soldiers, the rebels commenced the battle by advancing at half-past eight o'clock on our extreme left, attacking with great energy Beatty, Baird, and the SECOND DIVISION. The order of the division was as follows: The third brigade in front, the second brigade in the second line, and the first brigade in column as reserve. The Sixth Indiana and the Ninety-third Ohio, of the third brigade, received the brunt of this attack on the division front, and behaved most manfully. The enemy advanced in three lines, but our gallant boys lay concealed behind their rude breastwork and allowed him to approach within one hundred yards before they delivered their fire. The effect was terrible—nearly annihilating the first line of the rebels. His second line came up, and encountered a similar fate. Then, maddened with the sacrifice he had made, he hurled an increased force against these two regiments, resolved on forcing them to retreat or suffer the bayonet. But the heroic band was invincible;—they repulsed every attempt to carry the position, inflicting enormous loss upon the enemy. Their own loss was

but trivial, considering the desperation of the fight. Lieutenant Colonel Tripp, of the Sixth Indiana, and Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Ninety-third Ohio, were wounded and carried from the field. But Baird and Beatty were not so successful. Bravely their men struggled to resist the surging tide, but overpowered by numbers they were forced to fall back. Upon a ridge opposite their front the enemy had planted a battery, from which he mercilessly hurled shot and shell. General Johnson, with the true instinct of a soldier, seeing the left was slowly retiring, promptly ordered the second brigade to its support, leaving Grosskoppf's battery in position in the rear. This gallant command, now reduced in strength to less than an ordinary regiment, moved gallantly to the point of danger, and formed between Generals Baird and Beatty, thus losing its connection with the division. The conflict here was fierce and bloody. For a time the left held its ground. The second brigade killed the horses and many of the gunners belonging to the rebel battery opposite, foiling every attempt of the enemy to manage his artillery at that point. Meantime Captains Simonson's and Goodspeed's batteries did splendid execution from their positions in the open field in the rear of our line, and materially aided in the repulse of the enemy.

Suddenly, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the thunder of artillery, both on the right and left, proclaimed that he had succeeded in planting batteries in front of Beatty and Baird, and the struggle now

assumed a terrible intensity. The roll of musketry, the booming of cannon, the whizzing and crashing of bullets and shot and shell, intermingled with rebel whoops and Federal cheers, formed a perfect Pandemonium of sound that drowned everything—even thought itself. This assault could not be withstood, and the entire left fell back. The second brigade was borne back with the rest, but still fighting obstinately. When Colonel Dodge's brigade moved to reinforce the left, General Johnson directed General Willich to occupy his position. This gave the third brigade more immediate support. Just previous to this last assault General Johnson had ordered Willich to give active support. He sent the Thirty-second Indiana, Colonel Erdelmeyer, and the Forty-ninth Ohio to aid the third brigade, now under the command of Colonel W. W. Berry, of the "Louisville Legion," and the Fifteenth Ohio and the Eighty-ninth Illinois to support Captain Goodspeed's battery. The enemy having forced back the troops on the left flank and discovered a gap caused by this retirement, poured through it upon the flank and rear of the second and third brigades. Colonel Berry promptly ordered his reserve line, the First Ohio and the Fifth Kentucky, to change front to meet this attack. The Fifteenth and Forty-ninth Ohio and Thirty-second Indiana also faced by the rear rank, opening on the enemy's front and flank with a galling cross-fire. Captain Goodspeed's battery, most ably supported by the Eighty-ninth Illinois, also changed front, directly

facing the advancing rebels, and delivered an accurate fire of shot and shell, which soon caused his line to waver. Other regiments belonging to Baird's command now rallied and formed in line with the first and third brigades, and so destructive were their volleys that the enemy became confused and partially disorganized. A charge was then ordered, and most gallantly the men rushed upon him. It was a terribly fatal rout. The enemy fled back across the same ground over which he had just advanced, scores of his men falling beneath their unerring fire. The Louisville Legion, full of stormy enthusiasm, under the leadership of Captain Huston, badly crippled the enemy, wounding and capturing the rebel General Adams, of Texas, besides taking several other prisoners. The First Ohio sustained well its part, but was not so fortunate in the fruits of victory. The Thirty-second Indiana captured a rebel battle-flag, and passed over the dead body of the rebel General Walker and also that of the rebel Colonel Zuch, of the Twentieth Louisiana—victims to its deadly aim. The Forty-ninth Ohio captured fifty prisoners, who were sent to the rear. During this charge its noble commander, Major Samuel F. Gray, was struck in the head by a glancing ball, which compelled him to leave the field for a time. Captain Luther M. Strong, acting major, then assumed command, distinguishing himself by his coolness and gallantry. Sergeant Major D. R. Cook, acting adjutant, also rendered good service, and was ever, like a true soldier, fore-


most in the fight. The enemy having been pursued three quarters of a mile, the troops were recalled and resumed their old positions in the line. In the recall of the Louisville Legion Captain E. P. Strader, of the Sixth Indiana, acting assistant adjutant general of the third brigade, was wounded in the knee.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when the thunder of artillery and a fearful roll of musketry on General Brannan's front announced another desperate attack. All along the line since morning the battle had been raging at intervals with great fury. Divisions had been constantly marching to succor threatened points, and by dint of the masterly courage and endurance of the men (often read of, but seldom seen) amidst a rain of iron, had held the ground and signally repulsed the enemy. But at last the right was doomed : it was a hard fate, but could not be resisted. About two o'clock in the afternoon the conflict had again rolled from the left to the centre. General Thomas called for reinforcements, his aide stating that Brannan was out of line, and that Reynolds's right was exposed. General Rosecrans directed General Wood to close up on Reynolds, thereby covering the ground supposed to be vacated by Brannan. Wood moved his command to the left, and found Brannan in line, but *en echelon*. Not knowing that General Rosecrans had understood Brannan to be out of line, and that the object of his movement was simply to close the supposed interval, and his order being to close up on Reynolds, he

moved to his support, passing in rear of Brannan's line. General Davis, ignorant of Wood's movement to the left, took no measures to extend his line so as to cover the interval. The foe was alert, however; for before the defective point in the line was discovered he rushed through the gap with an overwhelming force, striking Davis in front, flank and rear, and throwing his division into confusion. He also struck Wood's right brigade, which had not yet cleared the interval, shattered Brannan's right, forcing his artillery back through Van Cleve's division, which was moving to the support of the left, throwing it into confusion and creating a partial rout. Laiboldt's brigade, which had served as a support to General Davis, shared his fate. General Sheridan, under orders to support General Thomas, beheld with dismay a heavy column of the enemy advancing, cutting him off from the centre and left, and another column stretching away beyond his right, moving to attack him on that flank. But the "Little Corporal," as he is styled, determined to gain General Thomas's suffering host, gallantly charged the intervening foe; but at that instant he was attacked in flank by the other rebel force, and after a desperate struggle he was thrown into disorder and compelled to fall back. Here General Rosecrans threw himself into the very thickest of the fight. He rallied the disorganized masses near the Dry Valley road, and with General Sheridan repulsed the enemy; but being again overpowered, he retreated to Rossville, and moved to the

support of the left by way of the Lafayette road. General Davis, rallying his troops so fiercely assailed, moved down the Dry Valley road, towards our right. Thus this unfortunate occurrence came near resulting in the annihilation of the army. By it the divisions of Generals Davis and Sheridan, and a portion of Van Cleve's, carrying with them Generals Rosecrans, McCook and Crittenden, were driven from the field, and thus prevented from rendering any aid at that vital moment, while the remainder of the army—the commands of Generals Baird, Johnson, Palmer, Reynolds, Wood, Brannan, and a portion of Negley's and Van Cleve's, less than twenty thousand men in all—were left to fight the combined rebel army, fully eighty thousand strong. Well might those patriot soldiers feel sick at heart as they realized the fearful odds; and yet it is surprising that there was scarcely a soldier but said, "We'll beat them yet!"

The enemy having cut off the right of our army, now hurled his masses against the solid front presented by the remainder. He had tried the left and met with a disastrous repulse and the loss of two of his generals. He now directed his energies against the extreme right, held by General Brannan. The strife that ensued was desperate and bloody, and ended in the occupation by the enemy of a gap in a ridge on Brannan's right, which commanded the entire rear of the army. Affairs were critical. The army seemed in its death throes—destruction and capture appeared inevitable. There was no rift now



to be seen in the dark rolling clouds of battle ;—no ray of sunlight betokened the approving smile of Heaven on our cause. Was the hope of freedom and humanity to be crushed then and there by the utter annihilation of one of the grandest armies of the republic ? It would be but the work of a very few minutes for the rebel army, now flushed with the apparent delirium of success, to move down in solid phalanx, take its position in reverse, and drive it into the mountains. No ! the God of Battles reserves no such sad fate for the " Army of the Cumberland ! " General Gordon Granger, from his position, away on the left towards Rossville, knowing from the sound that a furious battle was raging, and feeling that a part of his command was needed, hastened without orders from the commanding general to the support of General Thomas. He confronted the enemy in the gap, and the gallant Steedman, with a regimental color in his hand, led the attack. It was a dreadful carnage, and a thousand brave men purchased the victory with their blood. The enemy was routed—he, too, losing fearfully. Then Longstreet, with his veteran rebel hosts, attempted to storm the position. Thrice he charged, and was each time repulsed. The last time, being out of ammunition, Granger's men used the bayonet. While this desperate struggle was impending at the gap, another was being waged on the left. For more than an hour the second and third brigades held their positions in the front, sustaining and returning a murderous fire, and were driving the



enemy when another column moved well to the left and flank of Beatty's brigade, seriously threatening to turn it. General Thomas, seeing the danger, withdrew Reynolds from his position, and ordered him to the menaced point.

The enemy now pressed closely upon the vacated front and directed a furious cannonade upon General Willich's brigade, which lay in reserve in the southwest corner of an open field in rear of the position. Finally, the enemy seemed to have abandoned the contest, and General Thomas ordered a withdrawal of the army. Gradually the troops to the right and left of the SECOND DIVISION fell back, covering the Chattanooga road. The enemy, seemingly apprised of the intention, closed in, directing an awful fire on the SECOND DIVISION, and especially upon Willich's brigade, which still supported Captain Goodspeed's battery. The enemy advanced on three sides. The brigade fought with determined bravery, and the battery hurled shells and canister into the ranks of the foe with such rapidity that they could not be withstood. Under cover of its fire Willich deployed his column, and making a temporary display of an extended front, deceived the rebels as to his real strength, and thus enabled the battery to retire, the brigade following slowly, contracting its front, and presenting a firm face to the enemy. While the brigade was thus defending the battery, Lieutenant Colonel Duncan J. Hall, a young and most promising officer, fell, pierced through the abdomen by a musket

ball. His last words were, "Tell my parents I died for my flag and country; tell my regiment to stand by their flag and country."

The second and third brigades, with Simonson's battery, retired by the left flank, moving across a large open field, towards the Chattanooga road. General Johnson rode forward and delivered the order. He was greeted by the enemy with a perfect shower of bullets, but fortunately was unharmed. Lieutenant J. J. Siddell, of the third brigade staff, communicated this order to the advance lines of that brigade amidst an equally destructive fire, and also fortunately escaped. While crossing the open field both brigades suffered from the converging fire of three rebel batteries. In consequence of this fire there was considerable confusion in their ranks, but nothing like panic. In this withdrawal the Twentieth Ohio battery lost a caisson, it breaking down. The enemy followed, but not rapidly, as if fearful of awaking slumbering vengeance. The division was soon securely posted on the hills, and again showed a determined front; but the foe had evidently ceased the battle, as he did not move to the attack. Division after division moved towards Chattanooga, being constantly rejoined by stragglers and those who during the engagement had become separated from their commands.

The incessant labors of the army—its weary condition, most of the men having slept scarcely two hours since the evening of the 17th—the scarcity of

ammunition, food and water, the men suffering much for want of the latter—these were the reasons which determined General Thomas (who had discretionary instructions from General Rosecrans) to retire the army to Rossville. This place presented a still better defensive position for the army, and completely covered all approaches to Chattanooga from the direction of the enemy. By midnight the army was concentrated in front of Rossville, as shown by the map. General Thomas held the gap through Missionary Ridge, General McCook held the ridge on the right, General Crittenden guarded the left, and General Granger occupied a position in reserve. The troops evinced no signs of discomfiture, and cheerily erected palisades of rails and logs for their protection. An abundance of supplies soon came up from Chattanooga, and the whole army, gay and jubilant, hurled defiance at the combined rebel forces.

It was expected the battle would be renewed the next morning, but the enemy ventured only a reconnaissance, which was quickly repulsed. That night (the 21st of September) General Rosecrans ordered the army to fall back upon Chattanooga, five miles distant, where it arrived without molestation; and thus the objective point of this grand campaign, resulting in the terrific carnage of Chickamauga, was gained and, as subsequent events proved, effectually maintained.

Thus ended the battle of Chickamauga. All in all it was a victory to our arms. On the 19th of

September the entire army, with the exception of two brigades, was in the battle, and fought valiantly, defeating every attempt of the enemy to turn its left flank, securing its own concentration, and gaining the great object of that day's strife—the approaches to Chattanooga. The battle of the 20th was equally a success for us, until the enemy, discovering the unfortunate gap occasioned by a withdrawal of General Wood's<sup>8</sup> division, pressed on and by numerical supe-

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8. The Biography of this distinguished General should have been embodied in the text; but the material came too late, and we now append this brief sketch:

Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood, United States Volunteers, and Colonel of the second regiment of cavalry, was born in Munfordsville, Kentucky, on the 25th day of September, 1825. After passing through the ordinary schools of his native State, he was appointed a cadet in the United States Military Academy in February, 1841; entered the academy in the following June, and graduated fifth, in a class of forty-one members, in June, 1845. On graduating, General Wood was assigned to the Topographical Engineers as a second lieutenant, and was immediately ordered to report to General Zachary Taylor, commanding the Army of Occupation at Corpus Christi, Texas. He remained with the army, participating in the battle of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, on the 8th and 9th of May, 1846. For his gallantry and good conduct in these battles he was specially recommended by General Taylor for promotion. He was with the army under General Taylor in the advance on Monterey, Mexico, in September, 1846, and participated in all the operations which resulted in the capture of that stronghold. He also participated in the hard-fought battle of Buena Vista. He was breveted by Congress for gallantry and good conduct in this battle. He then joined the army under General Scott, assigned to conquer a peace by the capture of the city of Mexico. It should be here remembered that he was transferred in November, 1846, at his own request, from the Topographical Engineers to the second regiment of Dragoons. The application was induced by the slowness of promotion in the staff corps. After the capture of the city of Mexico and the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo, he left Mexico with his regiment, and was at once ordered to the frontier of Texas, where he remained on duty six years. He was then ordered to New York city on recruiting service. In March, 1855, he was promoted second captain in the first regiment of cavalry. From 1855 to the autumn of 1859, he was engaged in the Indian campaigns of his regiment on the Western Plains. In December, 1859, he obtained a leave of absence to visit Europe, and remained abroad, studying his profession and traveling, till the 1st of April, 1861. He was then ordered to Indiana to organize and muster into service the volunteers from that

rriority routed the right wing of the army; and then, after this disaster, when the rebel host deemed the victory an easy task, it was foiled in its superhuman exertions to turn either flank of our army, and at five o'clock, after a last desperate but fruitless assault, it ceased the combat. Then the army withdrew to Rossville, a distance of seven miles, and there awaited

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State. He remained on this duty till the 11th of October, 1861, and mustered more than 40,000 volunteers into the service. On the 11th of October, 1861, he was commissioned a brigadier general of volunteers, and was assigned to the command of a brigade at Camp Nevin, in what subsequently became the SECOND DIVISION of the old Army of the Ohio. General Wood remained in command of this brigade till the middle of December, 1861, when he was ordered to Bardstown, Kentucky, where the sixth division of the Army of the Ohio was organized, and he was placed in command of it. He remained in command of this division to the 1st of October, 1863, participating, at its head, in all the campaigns and battles of the Armies of the Ohio and Cumberland. At Stone River his division was the only one in the entire army that lost no ground and no artillery, though twice fiercely attacked after the assaults had ceased on every other part of our line. The rebel General Polk, in his official report of that battle, in speaking of the stubborn resistance his troops had encountered from his division, says "the position occupied by the division of Brigadier General Wood, of the Federal army, was admirably selected and well defended." Early in October, 1863, General Wood was assigned to the command of the third division of the fourth army corps. At the head of this division (in which were the first and third brigades of the old SECOND DIVISION), on the 23d of November, 1863, unaided by any other troops, General Wood stormed Orchard Knob and the rifle pits connected with it, capturing many prisoners and small arms. On the 25th of November, 1863, at the head of his division, he led the assault on the rugged heights of Missionary Ridge. His division was the first troops on the summit of the ridge, and captured 29 pieces of artillery, over 2000 prisoners, many thousand stand of small arms, and seven regimental colors. There has been no capture by a single division, in an open field fight, since the commencement of the war, equal to this. He was then ordered into East Tennessee to raise the siege of Knoxville. Longstreet, on hearing of the approach of our forces, made a hazardous, and, as it proved, a disastrous assault on the intrenchments at Knoxville, and was signally repulsed.

In the late battles in Georgia he has greatly enlarged his reputation as a soldier and a commander. General Wood is a little less than the medium height, and possesses a very active physical and mental temperament. He is energetic in what he undertakes and tenacious in purpose. He is an accomplished soldier and a skillful commander—indeed, he is one of Kentucky's most chivalrous men, at once an honor to her own and the nation's pride.

battle. But the enemy, deprived of over nineteen thousand combatants, felt incapable of keeping the field.<sup>9</sup> Nominally, General Rosecrans lost the battle, inasmuch as, constantly retiring to contract his lines and gain stronger natural positions, he left a large number of his killed and wounded in the hands of the enemy. The campaign was offensive, but the battle was defensive. Had the campaign resulted in forcing our army back across the Tennessee, the result would have been disastrous to our cause; but as it occupied, fully and securely, the great object which it sought to gain—Chattanooga,—the impartial mind can but acknowledge that it was a success. On our side we had to regret about fifteen thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss in the SECOND DIVISION was heavy, which in itself shows more potently than words the gallantry with which it maintained its part in this great battle. Its loss in killed was one hundred and twenty-two, and in wounded eight hundred and seventy-one—making a total of nine hundred and ninety-three; nor does this include the losses of the Thirty-ninth Indiana, which exceeded one hundred men. Neither was its bravery unacknowledged; for Major General Thomas in his official report of the action, referring to the engagements of the 19th and 20th instant, said:

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9. The rebel loss at Chickamauga is thus given by the Confederate authorities: Killed, 2,299; dangerously wounded, 4,780; slightly wounded 10,500—making a loss of 17,579. [See "Advocate of Peace" for May and June, 1864.] Besides, General Rosecrans captured 2,001 prisoners—making their total loss 19,580.

"Johnson's division of McCook's corps, opportunely arrived and reported to me. It was deployed and engaged the enemy, and after a desperate struggle, drove him handsomely for a mile or more, capturing seven pieces of artillery."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The divisions under me behaved well and gallantly. They were ably and skillfully handled by their commanders."

General Johnson, proud of the action of his noble division, issued the following address. It bears date of the 22d of September, two days after the battle:

**SOLDIERS OF THE SECOND DIVISION:**

I must congratulate you on your brilliant achievements on the 19th and 20th. Seven pieces of artillery, two battle flags, and a large number of prisoners, are among your trophies. Your Division Commander expected much of you, and he is happy to say that his most sanguine expectation has been more than realized. Although you lost many of your comrades, yet you will remember Chickamauga with pleasure, as it was, so far as you were concerned, a glorious victory. You defeated the enemy on five different occasions. Soldiers, I thank and congratulate you.

R. W. JOHNSON,  
Brigadier General Volunteers, commanding Division.

The following, from the commander-in-chief, is a truthful tribute to the heroism of his devoted army:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, }  
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, OCTOBER 2, 1863. }

*General Orders, No. 227.*

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND:--You have made a grand and successful campaign. You have driven the rebels from Middle Tennessee. You have crossed a great mountain range, placed yourself on the banks of a broad river, cross-

ed it in the face of a powerful opposing army, and crossed two other great mountain ranges, at the only practicable passes, some forty miles between extremes. You concentrated in the face of superior numbers, fought the army of Bragg, which you drove from Shelbyville and Tullahoma, combined with that of Johnston's from Mississippi, and the tried veterans of Longstreet's corps, and for two days held them at bay, giving them blow for blow, with heavy interest. When the day closed, you held the field, from which you withdrew in the face of overpowering numbers, to occupy the point for which you set out—Chattanooga! You have accomplished the great work of the campaign. You hold the key of East Tennessee, of Northern Georgia, and of the enemy's mines of coal and nitre.

Let these achievements console you for the regret you experience that arrivals of fresh hostile troops forbade your remaining on the field to renew the battle for the right of burying your gallant dead and caring for your brave companions who lay wounded on the field. The losses you have sustained, though heavy, are comparatively slight, considering the odds against you, and the stake you have won. You hold in your hands the substantial fruits of a victory, and deserve and will receive the honor and plaudits of a grateful nation, which asks nothing, even of those who have been fighting us, but obedience to the Constitution and Laws, established for our common benefit.

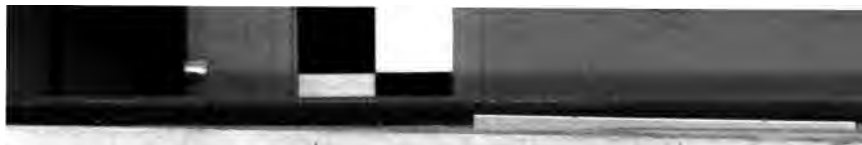
The General Commanding earnestly begs every officer and soldier of this army to unite with him in thanking Almighty God for his favors to us. He presents his hearty thanks and congratulations to all the officers and soldiers of this command, for their energy, patience and perseverance, and for the undaunted courage displayed by those who fought with such unflinching resolution. Neither the history of this war, nor probably the annals of any battle, furnish a loftier example of obstinate bravery and enduring resistance to superior numbers, when troops, having exhausted their ammunition, resorted to the bayonet so many times to hold their position against such odds, as did our left and centre, comprising troops from all the Corps, on the afternoon of the 20th of September, at the battle of Chickamauga.

By command of Major General Rosecrans.

C. GODDARD, Assistant Adjutant General.



Thus for a season ended the daring march of the Army of the Cumberland, which, setting out from its camps north of the Cumberland mountains, on the 16th of August, had traversed that range, crossed the broad Tennessee, moved over other mountain ranges, engaged the enemy in force twice as strong as its own, and who was bent upon its annihilation, in an unknown and difficult country, and finally, on the 21st of September, settled quietly into the occupancy of its coveted goal.



**PLAN**  
***THE BATTLE FIELD***  
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## CHAPTER XIX

CHATTANOOGA—THE REBEL POSITION—THE SIEGE—  
SKIRMISH AT CHATTANOOGA CREEK—THE ORDER  
OF DISSOLUTION—GENERAL JOHNSON'S FAREWELL  
ADDRESS—THE CONCLUSION.

CHATTANOOGA has in the past, in the "piping time of peace," been not a beautiful, but evidently a very pleasant little place. It has a main street nearly a mile in length, which constitutes the business portion of the town. Its population was about two thousand, and its citizens were inspired with a goodly degree of spirit and enterprise. The centre of almost the entire system of Southern railroads, it could not fail to derive importance from that fact. Besides, it is the great *entrepot* of vast mines of coal and nitre, which since the breaking out of the rebellion have been invaluable to the so-called Southern Confederacy. It nestles lovingly beside the broad and beautiful Tennessee, and among mountains famous for the grandeur of their scenery. A little way from it rises Look-Out mountain, mighty in its frowning battle-

ments, studded with the foliage of cedar and oak, and whose shadows sometimes hang heavily across it, deepening its beauty like the veil of a nun. To the eastward is Missionary Ridge, not so lofty, but no less pleasing in its charms. Across the Tennessee are the spurs—the ground-swells of that great mountain range whose grim black walls rise upon the vision away in the distance—the Cumberland. The river bank is lined with batteries, which the rebels had erected to resist attack from the North and by gunboats, which once they were fearful would visit them. From October, 1862, until its evacuation, it had been the base of supplies for the rebel army.

Although the army had been perfectly successful in gaining Chattanooga, it was still seriously menaced by the enemy. He followed closely after our forces, with the evident intention of attacking the place and compelling them to cross to the north side of the Tennessee; but so diligently and cheerfully had the men labored that the entire southern front of its position was well and strongly protected by a redan line of breastworks, which presented a formidable obstacle to an assaulting column. Besides, the only work which the enemy had constructed, and that imperfectly, (which he termed Fort Cheatham,) was converted into an almost impregnable fort, with bastion front, and named in honor of General James S. Negley, whose troops located on that portion of the line had been chiefly employed in its construction. The enemy therefore extended his lines from the

Tennessee river east of Chattanooga to the river at and below the bold promontory of Look-Out mountain west of Chattanooga. His main force rested on Missionary Ridge and Look-Out mountain, with extended lines of fortifications at their base in Chattanooga valley, his pickets resting in the valley as far as the south bank of Chattanooga creek. After leaving the creek to the eastward they followed an intervening ridge running across Orchard Knob, and thence to the river. In Look-Out valley, west of the mountain, a brigade was posted and very securely intrenched. His pickets also extended along the river through Whiteside, Shell Mound, and nearly to Bridgeport, Alabama. He thus held the Charleston and Memphis railroad from Bridgeport to Chattanooga, thereby preventing its use as a line of communication, thus compelling our army to rely for its supplies on wagon trains moving from Stevenson, Alabama, through the Sequatchy valley, over roads rendered almost impassable from the incessant rains which occurred, and over the Cumberland mountains. Practically Chattanooga was in a state of siege. The most strenuous exertions in the quartermaster's department, in its organization of supply trains, could not furnish the army with quarter rations, and the animals, overworked and actually starved, died by hundreds. Trains were frequently twenty days on the route from Stevenson; and as it was necessary each should be accompanied by a guard, the instances were not rare when all the provisions on the train

were consumed, and the men were compelled to draw rations on their arrival at Chattanooga. Indeed by the 1st of November so reduced were the animals that they could not be relied upon to transport anything—hardly to draw the empty wagons. More than ten thousand of these unfortunate beasts strewed the ground in the vicinity of Chattanooga and on the roads to Stevenson. Scores dropped dead in the streets of the town. The soldiers, too, suffered very severely. Day after day they consumed the pittance furnished them, and hundreds could be seen following the track of the wagons and picking out of the mud the kernels of coffee and rice which scattered from broken sacks and barrels. Hard bread grown moldy and rotten from exposure to the rain while *in transitu*, and which had been condemned by the commissaries, was seized by the half-famished men and eaten with avidity.

The evacuation of Chattanooga seemed a "military necessity," and more than once it was seriously contemplated. But amidst all these vicissitudes—these alternations of glory and disaster—the soldiers were cheerful and content. Not a murmur was raised against commanders for dereliction in duty or indiscreetness in movement: they felt that all that could be was being done, and they sanctioned all. Never was displayed a truer heroism—never greater fidelity to principle. Chattanooga had cost the fearful sacrifice of Chickamauga, and the precious life-blood there so lavishly spilled seemed to demand that the prize

be retained at whatever cost of suffering and privation. Happily the dogged tenacity of General Rosecrans battled against fate and sustained the siege. His successor, the noble George H. Thomas, was equally persistent; and when General Grant, on the 19th of October, telegraphed him to "hold Chattanooga at all hazards," his reply was, "I will hold the town until we starve!" It is sufficient here to state, that on the arrival of General Grant at the front a movement was immediately inaugurated which in November culminated in the glorious battles of Look-Out Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and drove the rebels from their strong positions on these mountains, raised the blockade and opened the railroad from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, also the Tennessee river, up which steamers constantly plied, laden with subsistence. From that date to the present there has been no scarcity in supplies.

While the division was in Chattanooga it performed the ordinary duties of picket and fatigue, and little of importance occurred—little worthy of special mention. Nearly every day the enemy threw a few shells from Look-Out mountain into our encampment, by way of provoking a reply; sometimes it did, but generally not. On the afternoon of the 25th of September Colonel Erdelmeyer, of the Thirty-second Indiana, was directed to relieve the third brigade, Colonel Berry commanding, with his regiment and details from other commands in the first and second brigades, amounting to a force of six hundred men.



About seven o'clock the left wing of the picket observed three men stealthily creeping up the north bank of Chattanooga creek, a few rods in front of our line. They were fired upon, and instantly there arose a whole company of skirmishers, who were ordered to charge the breastworks. They advanced to within twenty-five yards of our works, under a severe musketry fire; but the resistance proving too obstinate, they gave way in confusion and retired across the creek. Other rebel troops then resumed the firing from their covered position in the woods, and continued it until ten o'clock at night, when all became quiet. This little affair was spirited, and evinced much dash. The enemy was very daring to attempt such a task, and he fought with intrepidity. Our men acted coolly and judiciously, pouring into him a withering volley which he could not withstand, and compelling him to withdraw. The Thirty-second Indiana and the detail of the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania played the most conspicuous part in this affair. Major Glass, of the former, and Lieutenant James W. Johnson, of the latter, behaved with distinguished gallantry, standing upon the breastworks and directing the resistance. Our loss was three slightly wounded; the enemy's loss was four killed and sixteen wounded.

About this time General Johnson repaired to his home for a short time, on sick leave, and General August Willich assumed command of the division. But highly important changes were destined soon to

occur—no less than a reorganization of the Army of the Cumberland, the destruction of two corps and several division organizations—commands which on the field of battle had won imperishable glory for the national arms.

On the 10th of October, 1863, General Rosecrans published an order discontinuing the Twentieth and Twenty-first Army Corps, relieving Major Generals McCook and Crittenden from their commands, and directing that the divisions, brigades and regiments composing these corps be consolidated into a new organization, to be entitled the Fourth Army Corps, Major General Gordon Granger commanding.

It was the misfortune of the SECOND DIVISION to be included in this humiliating order. It was a measure much to be regretted. For two years officers and men had commingled in social intercourse, and the most enduring friendships had been formed—attachments dear as life itself, and destined to grow cold only with their descent to the silent tomb. Together they had marched upon the battle-fields of the republic, together they had fought for the national unity, and together they endured the privations and hardships incident to the camp and the march. But a decretal order destroyed those associations. The attachments which a devoted interest in a common cause had created, strengthened by the memory of many hard-fought fields, and cemented by the sacred life-blood of hundreds of companions in arms, spilled in defence of that cause, were sundered—to many,

alas! forever. The noble soldiers whose glorious record we have traced were assigned to new commands, strange and untried to them; but men who had so well established their reputation for honorable and chivalrous courage certainly could not fail to equally prove heroes when the occasion presented, no matter what the organization under which they were known.

The first and third brigades were transferred intact to the third division of the Fourth Army Corps, General Thomas J. Wood commanding. General Willich still retained command of his brigade, with additional regiments. The third brigade passed to the command of General W. B. Hazen, a tried and skillful officer. The second brigade came to a disastrous end. Not content with destroying its division organization, the hand of a relentless fate decreed a further decimation, scattering its regiments throughout the army. The Twenty-ninth Indiana was assigned to General Cruft's brigade of General Stanley's division of the Fourth Army Corps; the Thirtieth Indiana and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania to the brigade of Colonel William Grose, in the same division and corps; the Thirty-fourth Illinois was transferred to the brigade of General Morgan and the division of General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Fourteenth Army Corps; the Seventy-ninth Illinois to the brigade of Colonel Harker, attached to the division of General P. H. Sheridan, Fourth Army Corps.

**FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GENERAL JOHNSON. 579**

Such was the fate of the SECOND DIVISION. Its unity, its past glorious associations and its illustrious services merited a more noble termination. General Johnson, on his return to Chattanooga, on the 19th of November, 1863, issued the following touching farewell address :

**SOLDIERS OF THE LATE SECOND DIVISION,  
TWENTIETH ARMY CORPS :**

The undersigned returns from leave of absence to find his old command numbered "among the things that were." As soldiers, we have no right to criticise the action of our superiors, but should bow in humble submission to their mandates, notwithstanding old associations are broken up and new ones formed for us in which we have had nothing to say.

For more than two years I have been with you as brigade and division commander. I have shared your hardships and privations. This association has ripened into the most friendly relations, and I leave you not only as soldiers but as warm personal friends. The tongues of the envious, jealous and deceitful have tried to tarnish your bright reputation ; but those tongues are now silenced by your recent brilliant and glorious achievements. Since we are compelled to separate, I thank God that I leave you in the enjoyment of an enviable reputation—a reputation of which you may be justly proud. We may never be associated together again, but I cannot cease to watch you, rejoicing in your success and sympathizing with you in your hardships and privations.

Remember you are battling for the permanent good of your country, the restoration of its unity and the perpetuation of its national power and glory. I hope peace will soon crown your efforts, and that ere long you can return to your homes and friends, and that in after life you may experience a pleasure in remembering that you once belonged to the SECOND DIVISION, Twentieth Army Corps. God bless you all. Farewell.

**R. W. JOHNSON, Brigadier General Volunteers.**

Thus ends the history of the SECOND DIVISION. We have aimed to trace its career truthfully, and as fully as the material gathered would permit. The history of a nation, whatever may have been its character or position, is worthy of preservation. The history of our own country—so glorious in its career, in its early struggle for national existence, in its ascendancy to the position of one of the most powerful nations in the world, in its present noble efforts to maintain its existence against the machinations of foes abroad and insurgents at home, weakened by internal factions, the more dangerous as with professions of loyalty on their lips, they secretly aim a dagger at the national heart—are all themes of the most thrilling interest to every lover of a free constitutional government and the rights of humanity. Equally worthy of record are the privations, hardships and sufferings, the marches and battles of that gallant people who on the first definitive sign of danger doffed the toga of the citizen and donned the armor of the soldier, and ventured forth to sacrifice comfort, happiness—yea, even life itself on the altar of national honor and glory; and among the many thousands who have rallied to the defence of our institutions, none have rendered more signal service or achieved more enduring victories than those patriotic men composing the division whose glorious career we have presented. Fearlessly they went forth to battle for the right. Many, alas! have fallen upon fields deeply crimsoned with human gore; many,

too, suffering most intensely from wounds and the diseases of the camp, have gone to that "bourn whence no traveler returns." Its casualties in battle have been fearful: upwards of five hundred in killed and two thousand eight hundred in wounded—a total of three thousand three hundred! Such heroism and such devotion is its grandest monument of glory. In their loss the hopes and joys—all that is most dear to thousands of immortal beings—were crushed; but their most poignant griefs are merged into the glorious realization of national triumph—the unity of the States under the national Constitution, and the attainment of liberty "in reality as in name;" and the nation whom we love, and whose great heart feels a parental interest in the weal or woe of each patriot son, will inscribe their names in the grand "Roll of Honor," which shall be cherished as one of the most sacred jewels of the State. Yes,—

"Enough of merit has each honored name  
To shine untarnished on the rolls of fame—  
To stand the example of each distant age,  
And add new lustre to the historic page;  
For soon their deeds illustrious shall be shown  
In breathing bronze or animated stone;  
Or where the canvas, starting into life,  
Revives the glories of the crimson strife."

In assured confidence as to the final and complete success of our cause, and with a valor commensurate to their hopes, the noble survivors of the SECOND DIVISION still continue to sustain the cause of their country, and have further proved their fidelity and love for its institutions—if such addition proof were

necessary—by re-enlisting as veterans in its service. Soldiers they are, and soldiers they will continue to be until the gladsome sun of peace shall break through the storm-clouds of war, or they shall meet with the soldiers' fate—AN HONORED GRAVE.

THE END.

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# APPENDIX.





**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**REGIMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**  
**CONSTITUTING THE SECOND DIVISION.**

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**FOURTH BRIGADE.**

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**FIRST OHIO INFANTRY.**

WHEN, on the 15th day of April, 1861, Abraham Lincoln issued his proclamation calling forth seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the rebellion and enforce the laws, the loyal men of the North flocked to the standard of our country with an enthusiasm almost without parallel in the history of nations. Our institutions were in danger, and they hastened to defend them. They stopped not to inquire what folly had wrought the impending disaster. They only knew that the ship of state was in the breakers and near the rocks, and if saved from wreck, they must do it. The fate of the nation, whether for weal or woe, was their fate also.

No State of the Union was more prompt to answer this appeal of the President than loyal Ohio. A large body of

her patriotic citizens rallied at Columbus, the capital of the State, and were hastily organized, and placed under command of Major E. A. Parrott, Ohio State Militia. The command left Columbus for the seat of war on the 19th of April, only four days after the proclamation. In consequence of the riot in Baltimore, which occurred on that day, and being unarmed, it was stopped by order of Governor Dennison, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. On the 23d day of April it was organized into two regiments. The First Ohio elected Captain A. McD. McCook, of the Third United States Infantry, colonel; Major E. A. Parrott, State Militia, lieutenant colonel, and Captain Jack Hughes, of Mexican notoriety, as major. On the evening of the 24th of April, the regiment went into camp at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Here Colonel McCook joined the regiment. Lieutenant Joseph Parrott was appointed adjutant; Dr. McMillen, now colonel of the Ninety-fifth Ohio, surgeon, and Dr. Albert Wilson, assistant surgeon.

The regiment was first engaged on the 17th of June, 1861, while on a reconnoissance near Vienna. A train of cars, transporting a detachment of troops under command of Brigadier General Robert Schenck, and of which Colonel McCook's regiment formed a part, was fired upon by a masked rebel battery. The fire was unexpected and destructive; but Colonel McCook rallied the troops with commendable skill, and the command retired without further loss. The regiment was engaged in another affair of outposts the night previous to the battle of Bull Run.

In the memorable strife of Bull Run, on the 21st of July, 1861, the First Ohio led the advance of Tyler's column and fired the first gun in that battle. Tyler's position was in front of the valley of Bull Run, but the ground was gradually sloping, and surrounded by thick woods down almost to the ravine through which the stream flows. In the line of formation preceding this contest, Schenck's brigade was moved forward to the left of this valley, but soon received a terrific fire from a masked battery of the enemy, effectually concealed from view by the bushes on the opposite side of the Run. The dead and wounded were brought in and the battle commenced. There is no need here of recording it, or any part of it. The conflict is already registered in history. The First Ohio sustained well its part, and when the panic seized our forces, which re-

sulted in such disaster to our arms, Colonel McCook marched his regiment back to Centreville, in as good order as it marched out—an example which constitutes almost the single exception in that wide-spread rout.

The Thursday after this battle the regiment returned home, its time having expired several days previous to it. It was mustered out of service on the 16th of August, 1861, and Colonel McCook at once commenced its reorganization at Camp Corwin, Dayton, Ohio, in pursuance of the President's call for three years' troops. Before this organization was completed, Colonel McCook was promoted to brigadier general. The regimental organization was completed under Lieutenant Colonel E. A. Parrott and Major E. Bassett Langdon. It is from Cuyahoga, Columbiana, Fairfield, Jefferson, Logan and Miami counties. The regiment reported to General W. T. Sherman, about the middle of October, and was assigned to the command of General McCook, who was then organizing the SECOND DIVISION. About this time Captain B. F. Smith, of the Sixth United States Infantry, was appointed colonel and joined the regiment.

Upon the disorganization of the division, (October 10th, 1863,) it was assigned to General W. B. Hazen's brigade, of General T. J. Wood's division, Fourth Army Corps.

In this command it rendered important service on the pontoon expedition of General W. F. Smith, on the night of the 27th of October, and which effected a landing on the south bank of the Tennessee river, just below Lookout Mountain,—a point from which General Hooker operated so successfully in defeating the enemy on the 24th of November, 1863.

In the battle of Mission Ridge, it bore a conspicuous part, but suffered considerable loss. Lieutenant Colonel E. B. Langdon was seriously wounded. It also participated in that long and tedious march to East Tennessee, which resulted in raising the siege of Knoxville, and the retreat of the rebel Longstreet's forces.

The regiment is still in Hazen's command, and is ready again to meet the foe. It is an honor to the State which it represents, and as noble a body of soldiers as ever marched beneath the "old flag."

### THE SIXTH INDIANA INFANTRY.

This regiment was organized for the three months service by the appointment, on the 26th of April, 1861, of the following officers: Colonel, T. T. Crittenden; Lieutenant Colonel, H. Prather; Major, I. Gerber.

On the 30th of May, 1861, the regiment left Camp Morton for Western Virginia, and on the 3d of June four companies, commanded by Colonel Crittenden, participated in the battle of Phillippi.

The regiment was at Laurel Hill and Carrick's Ford though not engaged in the latter battle. On the 2d of August it was mustered out of the service.

It was reorganized under the first call of the President for three years' troops, and is composed of companies from the counties of Brown, Bartholomew, Jefferson, Jennings, Ripley, Switzerland and Washington. It was hurried into the field before the election of its field officers had taken place. It left Madison, Indiana, on the 20th of September, 1861, and arrived at Lebanon Junction that night. It was one of the first regiments that rallied to the aid of the gallant Rousseau and the Louisville Legion, or the threatened invasion of Kentucky by Buckner's forces and was presented with a beautiful flag by the ladies of Louisville. The field and staff were elected while at Elizabethtown, Kentucky. Company K joined the command while at Nolin, or Camp Nevin. It was assigned to General Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division. After the battle of Shiloh, its colonel, T. T. Crittenden, was promoted brigadier general. At Chickamanga, Colonel P. P. Baldwin, (formerly captain,) a most zealous officer was killed. From October 10th, 1863, its history is in common with that of the First Ohio, and the old third brigade.

### THE FIFTH KENTUCKY INFANTRY.

This regiment is composed principally of the residents of Louisville, Kentucky. It was raised by Colonel Lovell H. Rousseau, who was commissioned by the War Department in those troublous times of Kentucky when the State was

impending between two fates, and it seemed probable traitorhands would precipitate her into the Gehenna of secession. The history of the early struggles incident to organizing this command is fully set forth in the second and third chapters of this work and need not be repeated. Recruiting commenced the last of June, 1861. The regiment went into camp, as an organization, about the 1st of July, and established Camp Jo. Holt, near the Falls of the Ohio. It remained here until the eventful 17th of September, when it moved forward for the defence of Louisville. Upon this occurrence the regiment vindicated its title to regard. Previously it had been branded as Rousseau's "Silver Creek Ragamuffins"—a term of vilification applied by the secessionists and secession sympathists of the city. On that eventful day, when the safety of the city hung by a mere thread, and this gallant regiment rushed to the rescue, it was termed the "savior of the city," "a noble command," "heroes worthy the honor of the State and Nation." It was styled the Louisville Legion, in honor of the city from which it came. Upon the organization of the army it was assigned to the brigade of General Rousseau, he having been promoted 1st of October to that position. Its history from this date is in common with the division. Upon the reorganization of the army, after the battle of Chickamauga, it was assigned to Hazen's brigade and has participated in the series of brilliant achievements which has since transpired, and in which that command has borne well its part.

The Louisville Legion will ever hold a high place in history, as the nucleus of the grand "Army of the Ohio," which, in discipline, gallantry and success, has never been surpassed by any military organization in our land. At first it stood forth alone to breast the billows of secession; but soon, aided by other worthy regiments and compeers in fame, it did noble work for our cause.

#### FIRST BATTALION, FIFTEENTH UNITED STATES INFANTRY.

THIS fine body of troops, constituting a portion of the Fifteenth Regiment United States Infantry, was organized at Newport Barracks under the direction of Lieutenant

Colonel G. P. Sanderson, U. S. A., in pursuance of the President's proclamation of the 3d of May, 1861, authorizing the increase of the regular army by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and one of artillery. It left the barracks under command of Major John H. King, on the 28th of November, 1861. It proceeded to Camp Jenkins, near Louisville, where it remained several days. It reported in the field early in December, and was assigned to General Rousseau's brigade. The battalion came by companies—A and B while the forces were at Muldragh's Hill, C, D, E and F while at Camp Nevin, and companies G. and H, arrived near the middle of February, just before the division left Munfordsville, Kentucky.

On arriving at Bowling Green, 28th of October, 1862, the battalion was detached and served as headquarter guard to General Rosecrans. It remained here until the organization of the regular brigade, 25th of December, 1862. Major King was wounded in the battle of Stone River, December 31st, 1862, whereupon Captain Jesse Fulmer assumed command, and made the official report of that action. During January, 1863, Captain Keteltas assumed command. He has been in command since that date to the present time, with the exception of September, 1863, when it was commanded by Captain Dod, of the Fifteenth Infantry.

Major John H. King was commissioned Brigadier General in May, 1863.

In this connection, it may be well to state that the first battalions of the Sixteenth and Nineteenth United States Infantry, so long connected with the SECOND DIVISION, were also raised about the same time as the Fifteenth, and under the Proclamation of May 3d, 1861. Their history has been substantially the same as the Fifteenth, with the exception that they did not leave the division until the organization of the regular brigade. In the battle of Stone River, Major S. D. Carpenter, of the Nineteenth, was killed, and Major Slemmer, "Old Pickens," was wounded, besides many other officers killed and wounded. The regular troops fought with all the determination of old soldiers, and officers and men alike won laurels of fame.

Lieutenant Colonel Shepherd, of the Eighteenth Infantry, first commanded the regular brigade. He was succeeded in the early spring by General Robert Granger, and Granger was followed by General King.

Upon the reorganization, October 10th, 1863, the brigade lost its distinct organization, being merged into the second brigade, first division, Fourteenth Army Corps, but General King still commanding — General R. W. Johnson commanding the division. With that division it participated in the splendid victory of Mission Ridge, and followed up the retreating enemy to Ringgold and Laurel Hill. It now awaits "the good time coming," when another blow shall be inflicted on the foe.

### THE NINETY-THIRD OHIO INFANTRY.

This regiment is composed of companies as follows: five from Montgomery county—four being from Dayton; three from Butler, and two from Preble counties. The original field and staff was appointed by Governor Dennison. The regiment rendezvoused during its organization, at Camp Dayton, Dayton, Ohio. Recruiting commenced on the 18th of July, and it established camp with the maximum number on the 11th of August, 1862. It was mustered into the service by companies, on the 19th, 20th and 21st of August, chiefly by Captain C. O. Howard, of the Fifteenth United States Infantry. It left Dayton for Lexington *via* Cincinnati, on the 23d of August. The regiment was expected to join General Nelson's column and participate in the impending engagement with the rebel forces which shortly occurred at Richmond; but on arriving at Lexington, August 25th, it was, with other regiments, held as a reserve force. The command left this city in retreat for Louisville, Kentucky, on the 2d of September, arriving the 5th instant. While at Lexington it was assigned to Ward's brigade, "Army of Kentucky." At Louisville, on the 27th of September, it was transferred to Colonel E. N. Kirk's brigade, second division, Army of the Ohio; and again on the 5th of October, it was transferred to Colonel Buckley's brigade, (the fourth,) in lieu of the Seventy-ninth Illinois Infantry, transferred to Kirk's brigade.

October 10th, 1863, the regiment was assigned to Hazen's brigade and became seriously engaged at Mission Ridge, on the 25th of November, 1863. Here fell Major William Birch, a gallant and worthy officer, and a Christian gentleman. His loss was seriously felt. Then came the Knoxville



campaign, with its weary marches and hardships. Its Colonel, Charles Anderson, resigned in the fall of 1863, and was elected Lieutenant Governor on the Brough ticket in that famous campaign in Ohio, of Brough *versus* Valandigham—union and liberty, *versus* disunion and slavery.

### BATTERY H, FIFTH U. S. ARTILLERY.

This splendid battery was organized during September, 1861, in pursuance of orders from the War Department, based upon the Proclamation of the 3d of May, 1861, by Captain William R. Terrill, of the United States Army. It was organized at Reading, Pennsylvania, and is composed principally of men recruited from civil life.

Organized, it proceeded to Newport Barracks, Kentucky; thence to Camp Monroe, Carthage, Ohio, and thence, on the 31st of November, 1861, to Camp Wood, Kentucky, where it arrived on the 21st of December, 1861. It was attached to the SECOND DIVISION, and Captain Terrill appointed Chief of Artillery on the staff of General McCook. At Shiloh, the Battery—the only one of the division which arrived in season to take an active part—rendered distinguished service. On the 10th of June, Captain Terrill having been appointed by the President Brigadier General of Volunteers, was assigned by General Buell to the command of a brigade in General Jackson's division. At the battle of Chaplin Hills, on the 7th of October, 1862, this accomplished soldier fell while bravely striving to breast the furious onslaught of the enemy. In commemoration of his conspicuous services in the cause of the Republic, in general orders of the War Department, No. 174, June 12th, 1863, the Government entitled the battery for field guns contiguous to and in advance of Fort Kearney, Battery TERRILL, after the late Brigadier General William R. Terrill, who was killed in the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, October 8th, 1862.

After Captain Terrill's promotion, the command devolved upon First Lieutenant F. L. Guenther. At Stone River, as at Shiloh, it rendered valuable service, and is credited with the honor of having repulsed the enemy in one of his desperate charges upon the centre of our army, when

infantry were rendered almost powerless in opposing his impetuous advance. Upon the organization of the regular brigade it was transferred to that command, and served with it until October 10th, 1863, when it was attached to the first division, Fourteenth Army Corps.

The battery consists of two ten-pounder Parrott guns and four light twelve-pounders. It has shared the destiny of that division since.

### FIFTH INDIANA BATTERY.

Recruiting for this battery commenced on the 16th of September, 1861, by Captain Peter Simonson and Lieutenants Rankin and Morrison, under and by virtue of authority from Governor Morton. It was raised from Allen, La Porte, Marshall, Noble and Kosciusco counties. It rendezvoused at Indianapolis, September 17th, 1861, and was mustered into service on the 22d of November, 1861, by Lieutenant Colonel (now General) T. J. Wood, United States Army. Its armament consisted of two twelve-pounder howitzers, two six-pounder rifle, and two six-pounder smooth bores. It left Indianapolis on the 27th of November, 1861; arrived at Camp Gilbert, near Louisville, Kentucky, on the 28th instant. Here it was placed in a school of instruction, under Captain William R. Terrill, Fifth Artillery.

About the 20th of December, 1861, it was assigned to General O. M. Mitchell's division, and participated in all his famous campaigns through Tennessee and Alabama. It remained in this division until after the battle of Perryville or Chaplin Hills, October 8th, 1862. On the 8th of September previous it was brigaded in the eighth brigade, Colonel Harris; and in that action fought under the dashing Rousseau. On the 18th of December, 1862, it was assigned to the SECOND DIVISION. After October 10th, 1863, or soon thereafter, it was transferred to General Stanley's division of the Fourth Army Corps.

ADDENDA.—Since writing the regimental histories of this brigade, the great campaign of General Sherman for the capture of Dalton and the deliverance of Northern Geor-

gia has commenced, and all these commands have actively participated and added new laurels to their already illustrious fame. Dalton, Buzzard's Roost and Resaca attest their heroism.

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## FIFTH BRIGADE.

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### TWENTY-NINTH INDIANA INFANTRY.

THIS regiment is composed of companies raised in the Ninth Congressional District, with the exception of companies A and B, which are from the Tenth District. It was raised by Colonel John F. Miller, of South Bend, under authority from Governor Morton. It rendezvoused at Camp Jackson, La Porte, Indiana, and was mustered into service on the 27th of August, 1861, by Lieutenant Colonel T. J. Wood, United States Army. Four companies were armed and equipped at Indianapolis, and six at Louisville, Kentucky. It left La Porte October 2d, and arrived at Camp Nevin, Kentucky, October 12th, 1861. Here it was brigaded in the command of General T. J. Wood, SECOND DIVISION. Colonel Miller has been but little with the command. Upon reaching Nashville, in March, 1862, he was detached from the regiment, and was soon thereafter placed in command of a brigade. At Nashville, during the blockade, and at Stone River he won golden laurels for his skill and gallantry. At Stone River he was wounded in the neck, but kept the field until the contest of the day was ended. On the 20th of June he returned to his old brigade and assumed command. Five days after, in the battle of Liberty Gap, he was seriously, and it was thought for a time, fatally injured—a ball passing into or near the eye. He has since recovered, and is again on duty. He has

been confirmed a Brigadier General for his gallant services. Lieutenant Colonel D. M. Dunn led the regiment at Shiloh, and during a portion of the actions of Stone River and Chickamauga. At Stone River he was captured, and at Chickamauga became for a time separated from the command. Major J. P. Collins commanded at Stone River after the Colonel's capture; but at Chickamauga, while desperately fighting the enemy, was himself captured with a portion of the command.

Upon the reorganization of the army, it was transferred to General Cruft's brigade, General Stanley's division, Fourth Army Corps. Early in December, 1863, shortly after the promulgation by the War Department of the order for the re-enlistment of veteran troops, this gallant regiment, with a patriotism challenging admiration, again tendered their services to the Government and were remustered the last of that month. It was almost the first regiment which re-enlisted in the Army of the Cumberland. The veterans returned home, enjoyed their furlough, and are now again in the field, ready and willing to strike more blows for the subjugation of our country's foes and the restoration of the national honor and peace.

### THIRTIETH INDIANA INFANTRY.

The Thirtieth regiment of Indiana volunteers was raised exclusively from the citizens of the Tenth Congressional District, composing the counties of Allen, DeKalb, Elkhart, Kosciusko, La Grange and Noble. It consists of ten companies, and rendezvoused during its organization at "Camp Allen," Fort Wayne, Indiana. Regimental and company elections held, it was mustered into the national service by Major S. D. Carpenter, of the Nineteenth United States Infantry, on the 29th day of September, 1861.

On the 30th of October, 1861, the regiment left its rendezvous at "Camp Allen," and proceeded to Indianapolis. On the 7th of October it left Indianapolis for Louisville, Kentucky, where it arrived on the morning of the 8th, and at noon that day reached Camp Nevin, near Nolin Station, Kentucky. Here it encamped and awaited brigade and division organization. It was shortly assigned to the fifth brigade, Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood, commanding.

In the battle of Shiloh its noble colonel, Sion S. B. foremost in the ranks of danger, fell, a willing and glorious sacrifice upon the altar of our land. Scores of patriots, his comrades in arms, also there attested their devotion to country. Its lieutenant colonel, J. B. Dodge, promoted to colonel, and in the memorable strifes of Stone River and Chickamauga, commanded a brigade. Mr. Hurd, promoted lieutenant colonel, upon the vacancy occasioned by Colonel Bass' death, has been in command of the regiment most of the time since the battle of Stone River. He received a wound in the affair of La Vergne. Captain Fitzsimmons, promoted to major, and a brave and dashing officer, has participated in all its campaigns; he was captured both at Stone River and Chickamauga. On the tenth of October, 1863, it was assigned to Colonel W. G. Grose's brigade in the Fourth Army Corps.

A portion only of this regiment re-enlisted as veterans. It is still in the front, resolved as ever before, to do its duty even unto the end.

### THIRTY-FOURTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY.

This fine regiment is composed of companies recruited from the counties of Carroll, Lee, Ogle and Whiteside, in the northern, and the counties of Coles and Morgan, in the southern parts of the State. It was organized at Cambridge, Butler, Springfield Illinois, and was mustered into the United States service by Colonel John Simondson, United States Army, on the 1st day of September, 1861. It left for its seat of war, *via* Cincinnati, on the 2d of October, that year. The Thirty-fourth was among the first of our soldiery to rally for the rescue of Kentucky. It crossed the Ohio river at Covington, on the 4th of October. Here it received the most cordial greeting. The citizens vied with each other in their demonstration of thanks and gratitude. Fair ladies waved silken banners and handkerchiefs from verandas, balconies, windows, and even from the house-tops. The entry seemed almost triumphal, and strongly reminded the spectator of what Livy styles the triumph and glory of the Caesars. Yet how widely different the nature of the enterprise and the mission to be performed! When Caesar entered Rome, the envious Marcellus exclaimed:



"What tributaries follow him to Rome,  
To grace in captive bonds his chariot wheels!"

Not so the soldiers of the American Republic. They returned from no conquest of spoils, from no chaos of bloodshed, wickedness and anarchy; but went forth with musket in hand, stimulated by no other motive than that one so honorable to the soldier and the man, which, laying aside all considerations of personal gain or safety,

"offers to sacrifice life,  
While placed in Liberty's defence;"

and the prayers and blessings of thousands of grateful hearts, and the ministering to the wants of our soldiers, were voluntary offerings of those who appreciated the grandeur of the pending contest.

From Covington the regiment proceeded to Lexington, arriving there on the 5th of October. Here it established "Camp D. A. Sayre," in honor of a firm Unionist of that place. It started for Louisville on the 9th of October, reaching the city that night. On the 10th, it proceeded by rail to Colesburg, and marched thence to Muldraugh's Hill and Nolin, or Camp Nevin. Here it was assigned, October 18th, to the sixth brigade, General Johnson; but on the 3d of December was transferred to the fifth brigade, General T. J. Wood commanding.

On Tuesday, the 10th of December, while encamped at Nevin, at the close of battalion drill, the regiment was presented with a beautiful silken banner, the gift of the ladies of Jacksonville, Illinois. Captain M. G. Greenwood, of company G, made the presentation speech. It was short, elegant, and breathing with lofty devotion and patriotism. Colonel E. N. Kirk received it on behalf of the regiment. His heart was too full to give utterance to words, and he called for "three cheers for the banner and the ladies of Jacksonville," which request was responded to with an earnest which told they were meant and came from deep down in the heart. The colonel then made a short speech full of eloquence and lofty zeal for the cause in hand. G. W. Hewitt, Assistant Surgeon, was soon after presented with a sword, as a testimonial of the high esteem in which he was held. At Shiloh it passed the first ordeal of battle. Here Major Levanway fell. Here, too, Colonel Kirk,

Captains Miller and Patrick, Lieutenants Wood, Parrot Wagner and Hiller, besides scores of noble men fell, killed or wounded. This disaster was closely followed by the death of Lieutenant Colonel Bosworth. Upon these vacancies Captain Bristol was promoted lieutenant colonel, and Captain Dysart, major of the regiment. Then came the affairs of Floyd's Fork, Claysville and La Vergne. At Stone River another ordeal reddened the earth with its blood; and here fell Captain Greenwood and Lieutenant Smith: Captain Van Tassel, acting major, and Lieutenant Riley were wounded—the latter mortally. Colonel Kirk, who had been promoted brigadier general for gallantry in action, was also mortally wounded. Again, at Liberty Gap, Lieutenant Merrill, a gallant and worthy officer, fell.

Indeed, on all the battle-fields in which this regiment has been engaged, it has ever performed its whole duty, and its fearful losses attest the fact more potently than words.

After the battle of Stone River, Lieutenant Colonel Bristol resigned, and Major Dysart was commissioned colonel. Captain Van Tassel, lieutenant colonel, and Captain Miller, major. After the battle of Liberty Gap, Colonel Dysart resigned; but up to date of re-enlistment as veterans there were no promotions in the field offices. While in camp at Tullahoma, the regiment was again presented with a standard of colors, upon which was inscribed its battles, by the Franklin Grove Union League and the citizens of Franklin Grove and vicinity. It was a splendid banner—a present worthy the donors and worthy the brave men who received it. On the 29th of June, Lieutenant Forsyth, of company D, was also the happy recipient of a sword from the members of his company.

While in camp at Murfreesboro, the officers and soldiers presented each of the field officers, Colonel Dysart, Lieutenant Colonel Van Tassel and Major Miller with a beautiful sword elegantly mounted and engraved with the names of the battles in which they had fought, and the inscriptions of presentation. On the death of General Kirk it appropriated money for the erection of a monument to his memory. The regiment participated in the glorious conflict of Mission Ridge, and then marched to raise the siege of Knoxville. Upon returning to Chattanooga, it re-enlisted its veterans, enjoyed its furlough, and is now in the second brigade of General Davis' division of the Fourteenth Army.

Corps. It will yet deal heavy blows in behalf of freedom and nationality; indeed it has already, since its return, engaged the enemy in the campaign against Dalton and Atlanta.

### THE SEVENTY-NINTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY

Was recruited by order of Governor Yates, and is from the counties of Clark, Douglas, Edgar and Vermilion. It was organized about the 20th of August, 1862, and rendezvoused at Camp Terry, Mattoon, Coles county, Illinois. It was mustered into service by Captain Washington, United States Army, on the 28th of August, 1862, and proceeded to Louisville, Kentucky, early in the September following.

It was first assigned, on the 13th of September, to the third brigade, General Cruft's division, Army of Kentucky. On the 29th of September it was transferred to the fourth brigade, Colonel Buckley, of the Second Division; and again, on the 5th of October, at Frankfort it was transferred to the fifth brigade, General Kirk commanding. Its colonel, Lyman Guinnip, resigned shortly after it entered the field, (on the 17th of October,) and thereupon Lieutenant Colonel S. P. Read was promoted colonel, and Henry E. Rives, a civilian, was appointed lieutenant colonel.

At Stone River this regiment, although never before in action, behaved with commendable steadiness, fought like veterans and elicited the highest encomiums from commanders who witnessed its gallantry. Here Colonel Sheridan P. Read, an officer of much promise, fell, struck by a musket ball in the forehead. Major Buckner was promoted colonel January 1st, 1862, for gallantry in that action.

Its history henceforth is in common with the brigade and division, and in all engagements it maintained the high reputation it gained at Stone River. At Chickamauga it displayed extraordinary heroism. Upon the disorganization of the division it was assigned to Colonel Harker's brigade of General Sheridan's division, Fourth Army Corps. In the battle of Mission Ridge it charged the heights, penetrated the enemy's breastworks, and captured two pieces of heavy artillery. On that day this regiment, like many others, performed prodigies of valor. The siege of



Knoxville caused a long and tedious march which was performed with cheerfulness by the command. Since that event it has been in East Tennessee and still in the Fourth Army Corps. Lately it has participated in the brilliant affairs of Dalton and Buzzard's Roost, in the latter of which Colonel Buckner was severely wounded.

### THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY.

This regiment was raised under and by virtue of the following authority :

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., }  
AUGUST 28TH, 1861.

COLONEL F. S. STUMBAUGH, CHAMBERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA :

Sir,—The regiment of infantry and battery of artillery which you offer, is accepted for three years or during the war, provided you have them ready for marching orders in thirty days, and secure the approval of the Governor of Pennsylvania. This acceptance is with the distinct understanding that this Department will revoke the commissions of all officers who may be found incompetent for the proper discharge of their duties. Your men can rendezvous at Chambersburg. They will be mustered into the service of the United States in accordance with General Orders No. 58 and 61 herewith enclosed.

By order of the Secretary of War,

JAMES LESLIG, JR.,  
Chief Clerk of the War Department.

The companies composing the regiment were organized in the counties of Huntingdon, Allegheny, Franklin, Lancaster, Fulton, Luzerne and Erie. Thus the eastern, central, and western and northern parts of the State are represented. The recruiting commenced September 6th, 1861, the general rendezvous being at "Camp Slifer," Chambersburg, named in honor of Honorable Eli Slifer, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Agreeably to orders from the War Department, the regiment left Camp Slifer, *en route* for Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, (Camp Wilkins,) October 6th, 1861. The regiment was here organized and mustered into the service, October 8th, 1861. Captain Peter B. Housum was recruiting and organizing the battery of artillery and left Camp Slifer with one hun-

dred men. When the regiment was organized, Captain Housum was duly elected lieutenant colonel, and Captain Charles F. Mueller, of Erie county, who had about sixty men in Camp Wilkin for the artillery service, put his men into Housum's company, thus making a full battery, and was chosen captain and mustered into the service. The organization was at this time as follows: battery company, companies A, B, C, D, F and G. These seven companies were armed and equipped at Pittsburg, and on the 18th of October embarked on boats for Louisville, Kentucky. The organization was not yet completed, numbering only about eight hundred and forty-five men. Captain Pyfer of Lancaster county, was organizing company K; Captain Robinson of Pittsburg was organizing company E, and Captain Derby of Luzerne was recruiting company H. Captain Pyfer joined the regiment about the 1st of December; Captain Derby, company H, joined in the early part of December, and Captain Robinson, company E, came up May 30th, 1862. The organization was then nine companies of infantry and one company of artillery, making in all nine hundred and eighteen men.

This regiment formed a part of the famous Negley brigade, and reached the port of Louisville on Monday evening, October 21st. The voyage was marked with interest, and a fine sketch of the arrival at Louisville of this brigade appeared in one of the New York pictorials. On Tuesday morning, the 22d instant, Negley's brigade landed on the sacred soil of Kentucky amid the shouts of the loyal citizens of the city of Louisville, and arrived in Camp Nevin, near McCook's Station, on the 23d instant. December 9th the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteers was detached from the seventh brigade, (Negley's,) and assigned to the fifth brigade, Brigadier General Wood commanding. December 4th, 1861, the battery company was permanently detached from the regiment and made an independent battery by the War Department.

At Shiloh this regiment was the only one from the Keystone State, and sustained well her proud reputation. In the fall of 1862, the President appointed Colonel Stumbaugh a brigadier general in the volunteer service: but ill health compelled him to retire, and on the 7th of December, 1862, he was honorably discharged by order of the War Department.

At Stone River the noble and lamented Housum fell while in the thickest of the conflict. His loss was irreparable and deeply felt. Major S. N. Bradford shortly after resigned; a new organization was then effected. Captain T. E. Rose, of company B, was promoted colonel; Captain Fred. S. Pyfer of company K, lieutenant colonel, and Captain A. Phillips of company G, major of the regiment. At Murfreesboro, Tennessee, March 20th, 1863, as General Rosecrans passed along the line reviewing the troops, he came to the Seventy-seventh, and took the colonel by the hand and said, "Colonel, I see your regiment is all right. Give my compliments to the boys of your regiment, and tell them that *I* say it was the banner regiment at Stone River. *They never broke their ranks.*" The colonel replied, "*No, General. nor they never will break their ranks.*"

While at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, the officers and soldiers of the regiment presented Colonel Rose and Lieutenant Colonel Pyfer each with a handsome sword, sash and belt. The presentation speech—a most excellent one, and to the point—was made by Lieutenant Samuel T. Davis, adjutant of the regiment, and was responded to by both Colonels Rose and Pyfer. Major General James S. Negley was present, and also addressed his compatriots in arms. Altogether, it was an highly interesting occasion.

At Liberty Gap and Chickamauga, the command did splendid service. In the latter engagement, all the field officers and quite a number of the line officers and many of the men were captured while engaged in a desperate fight after dark. Colonel Rose escaped subsequently from Libby Prison, at Richmond, and arrived safely within our lines. Whether the other officers escaped is not known to the writer.

The regiment is now in the brigade of Colonel William Grose of the Fourth Army Corps. In January, 1863, it re-enlisted as veterans. It is now in the front, where it will again be heard from when duty calls to the clash of arms.

#### THE DEPARTURE.

[The following lines were suggested by witnessing the embarking of Negley's brigade, composed of the Seventy-seventh, Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, at Pittsburg, October 18th, 1861.]

Slowly and sadly rose the sun,  
His face with clouds o'ercast,  
And many a soul with grief was wrung

Ere its setting hour was past.  
 The rain-drops with a mournful sound,  
 Like tears fell from the sky,  
 And tears from overflowing hearts  
 Filled many a weeping eye.  
 Far, far from the Western City  
 Of the great Keystone Arch,  
 A gallant band of noble boys  
 Have taken up their march;  
 From the mountain, from the valley,  
 From hamlet and from hall,  
 They've willingly responded to  
 Their bleeding country's call—  
 Defenders of the good "old flag"  
 That o'er them is unfurled,  
 And of this hallow'd land of ours,  
 The refuge of the world!  
 And never seemed that flag more dear—  
 More sacred Freedom's soil,  
 Than when brave men so nobly paid  
 The price of blood and toil:  
 And yet their manly voice grows faint  
 While whisp'ring their farewells,  
 And while they give their parting hand  
 Each sturdy bosom swells!  
 The crowd long waiting on the bank  
 Now wave a kind adieu,  
 And loudly cheer the patriot band  
 Receding from their view.  
 But still are seen those glorious "Stripes"  
 In waving folds by day,  
 And sentinel "Stars" that glow by night,  
 To watch them on their way.  
 Slowly at last the crowd retires  
 From the deserted stand,  
 And some return to weep and pray  
 For that devoted band.  
 As down Ohio's limpid stream  
 The fleet now makes its way,  
 The soldiers' fondest, ling'ring thoughts  
 Back to those shores will stray.  
 Upon the brilliant scene they gaze—  
 Their own dear native shore,  
 From which they now are parting,  
 Perchance to return no more.  
 Thus did we send our brave men forth  
 To battle for the right,  
 In this tempestuous hour of strife—  
 Our country's darkest night.  
 Oh! may the God of battles  
 Give strength to every arm:  
 While they defend our country dear  
 May He keep them from harm!  
 May Christ, the heav'nly Captain, still  
 Guide them where'er they roam,  
 And in some joyful future hour  
 Land all in peace at home.

**BATTERY B, PENNSYLVANIA ARTILLERY.**

The Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Battery was originally raised with the Seventy-seventh regiment. It was detached by order of the Secretary of War on the 4th of December, 1861; the detachment however was really made on the 15th of January, 1862. It was then under the direction of Captain Terrill, chief of artillery, McCook's division. It remained with the division until the 29th of March, 1862, when it was ordered by General Buell to report to Colonel James Barnett, commanding artillery reserve, Department of the Ohio. The battery still moved on to Shiloh with General Thomas' division. It reached Savannah on the 8th of April, 1862, and lay there until the 11th of April, then moved to Shiloh. It was placed with the artillery reserves, and participated in the siege of Corinth. On the 4th of June, 1862, it was ordered by General Buell to report to General Crittenden, fifth division, Department of the Ohio. General Crittenden's command moved with Pope's *corps d'armee* to Boonville Mississippi, and rejoined the Army of the Ohio at Iuka, *via* Rienzi and Jacinto, Mississippi, on the 12th of June, 1862, as it was moving eastward. While on the retreat to Louisville, on the 23d of August, 1862, it was attached to Van Cleve's brigade (the 14th,) of Crittenden's division. Captain Mueller was chief of artillery while he was in this division. After participating in the battle of Chaplin Hills, Van Cleve's division moved down to Wild Cat. Here the battery had an artillery duel with the rebels. Returned to Mt. Vernon, Somerset and Glasgow; thence to Gallatin, Tennessee, then to Silver Springs. Here it rejoined Crittenden's command. It moved with Van Cleve's division, and was in the battle of Stone River. Left Murfreesboro, Tennessee, on the 30th of June, for McMinnville, where Van Cleve was relieved by General Gordon Granger, of the reserve corps. On the 16th of August, 1863, left McMinnville in the onward movement; crossed the Cumberland mountains; also the Tennessee river, at Shell Mound, on rebel flat-boats raised out of the river by the pioneer corps; thence moved to Whitesides. It then turned down Lookout valley, passed Rossville, and came upon the enemy's rear at Ringgold, on the 12th of September, 1863. On the 13th of September counter-marched to Lee and Gordon's Mills. Here the entire corps

(Crittenden's,) formed in line of battle; here, on the 18th, Samuel Beatty's brigade of Van Cleve's division had quite a spirited engagement with the enemy—found them in force, and retired. On the 15th left Lee and Gordon's Mills and encamped at Crawfish Springs, except the third brigade, (Van Cleve's division,) which moved two miles further. On the 18th of September the enemy shelled the brigade, and it moved back to Lee and Gordon's Mills, Colonel Gross' brigade relieving them. On the 19th of September the battery moved on to line of battle at daylight, supported by the first brigade, Samuel Beatty, and exchanged shots until ten A. M., when it moved with the brigade to the support of the center, forming on the right. Here the engagement was heavy; the battery was in the rear of the first line of battle; it checked the rebel advance until its canister was exhausted. The line at length gave way, and left exposed three guns. The horses being killed, it became necessary to abandon the guns, but the boys maintained their position until resistance was useless; moved back on the ridge and fired the other three pieces until ammunition was exhausted. Here the men left another piece, the horses being killed and the pole being shot off. Night now closed upon the scene; the battery now fell back with two pieces, with Beatty's brigade—crossed the hills, joined the rest of the corps and camped for the night. Here received two six-pound smooth bores, captured during the day by Beatty. On the 20th of September moved up in rear of Beatty's brigade and forward about a mile; then moved up to the left some half mile. Here it was placed under Major Mendenhall, and here the four guns were placed in battery and commenced firing. Here was Stevens', Drury's First Wisconsin, and Swallow's Seventh Indiana batteries. They were all on a ridge with an open field of about one thousand yards in front, with timber at its base. The order was not to fight until the rebels came out. Meantime a regiment of rebel sharpshooters moved up through the woods, the enemy in front, and poured a destructive fire into flank and rear. The fight was desperate—the men stood at their guns until the rebel colors were planted on the right piece in battery; out of twenty-four horses, eighteen were killed. Here Captain Stevens was killed by a rebel sharp-shooter while assisting at Swallow's battery. Here lost the other two pieces of the original

battery; one limber chest was also blown up, and the pieces disabled. The other two pieces were taken from the field by the men of the battery by *prolonge*. It then fell back to the ridge in rear, and hooked on to the limbers of some batteries previously abandoned, and moved with General Negley's division to Rossville, thence to Chattanooga. At Chattanooga the guns were placed in battery on the extreme left of the line. On the 10th of October it was assigned to the third division, Fourth Army Corps, and received a new battery of six improved James rifles.

This battery consisted of the following armament at the date of muster into service, six six-pound smooth bores. At Nashville, in the spring of 1862, it exchanged two smooth bores for two James rifles.

#### BATTERY A, FIRST KENTUCKY ARTILLERY.

The First Battery Kentucky Volunteer Artillery was organized at Camp Joe Holt, Indiana, on the 1st of July, 1861. It was mustered into service on the 27th of September, 1861, at Camp Rousseau, Kentucky. It was recruited in Louisville and Jefferson county, Kentucky. Guns, at date of muster: two six-pounder smooth bore field pieces, two ten-pounder Parrott rifles, two twelve-pounder mountain howitzers. Armament on the 10th of October, 1863: two six-pounder smooth bores, two six-pounder James rifles, two three-inch Rodman rifles. It was ordered into the field on the 17th of September, 1861, (before mustered into service) with General Rousseau's command, and was assigned to Rousseau's brigade at Camp Nevin, Kentucky, upon the organization of McCook's division. Fired three rounds during Willich's fight with the Texan Rangers at Rowlett's Station, Kentucky. Owing to want of transportation, it arrived on the battle-field of Shiloh one hour after the engagement had ceased. It was assigned to the fifth brigade (Kirk's) on the 19th day of March, 1862. It remained with that brigade until the 19th day of September, 1862, when it was transferred to the twenty-eighth brigade, (Starkweather's) Rousseau's division. It was in the battle of Chaplin Hills on the 8th of October, 1862, and under fire from 7 o'clock p. m. until dark. It behaved with distinguished gallantry, and suffered severely, losing

thirteen men; also 21 horses killed and wounded. It fired four hundred rounds of ammunition, and repulsed repeatedly the charges made by a rebel division. On the 30th of December, 1862, it had an engagement with Wheeler's cavalry on the Jefferson pike, Tennessee. Lost none in killed or wounded. It arrived on Stone River battle field the night of December 31st, 1862. Lost during that battle one man wounded. It was transferred to the fortifications near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, on the 1st of April, 1863, at which place it still remains, October 10th, 1863.

The battery was raised by Captain D. C. Stone, of Louisville, Kentucky. He continued in command until May 5th, 1863, when he was dismissed by sentence of general court martial. First Lieutenant Theo. S. Thomasson was then promoted captain, and now (June 10th, 1864,) commands the battery.

#### BATTERY E, FIRST OHIO ARTILLERY.

This battery was recruited in the counties of Cuyahoga, Ashtabula, Lorain, Medina and Morrow, in August, 1861, and on the 23d of that month was mustered into the United States service at Camp Dennison. On the 14th of November one section went on an expedition into Western Virginia and Eastern Ohio, and in the latter part of the month was ordered to Louisville, Kentucky, where it was joined by the other two sections on the 4th of December. Reported to General O. M. Mitchell at Bacon Creek, Kentucky, on the 18th day of December, and made the campaign with his command, capturing Bowling Green, Kentucky; Nashville, Murfreesboro, Shelbyville and Fayetteville, Tennessee; Huntsville, Decatur, Florence and Tusculumbia, Alabama. Recrossed the Tennessee river, burnt the railroad bridge and shelled the enemy's camp on the 27th of April, 1862. Attached to General Turchin's brigade, and succored the Eighteenth Ohio at Athens, Alabama, driving Scott's rebel cavalry across the Tennessee river on the 1st of May; crossed the Cumberland mountains, marching *via* Fayetteville, Tennessee, with General Negley's troops, and bombarded Chattanooga on the 7th and 8th of June; took position at the mouth of Battle creek, and skirmished frequently during the months of



June and July; occupied Fort McCook on the 20th day of August, and was attached to the SECOND DIVISION about the 10th day of September following. After a toilsome and exhausting march in the rear of Bragg's army, reached Louisville on the 26th of September; moved in the advance of General Sill's division on the Frankfort pike, and skirmished with the enemy's rear guard on the 1st of October; had a sharp skirmish at Claysville on the 2d of October; recaptured Frankfort on the 6th of October; fought with Kirby Smith's forces at Lawrenceburg on the 8th of October, and at Dog Walk on the 9th of October; formed a junction with Buell's main army at Perryville on the 11th of October; followed Bragg's retreating army as far as Crab Orchard, Kentucky; thence to Edgefield, Tennessee, arriving on the 7th of November; passed through Nashville on the 16th of November and drove the rebels from their camping ground near the lunatic asylum engaged in a severe artillery duel for one hour and three quarters with Captain Morgan's First Louisiana battery at Lavergne on the 27th of November; skirmished repeatedly during the month of December; marched with McCook's right wing on Nolensville on the 26th of December, the next day in the advance and pushed Hardee's corps beyond Triune; silenced Robison's Texas battery on the left wing of Bragg's army, repulsing repeated charges from infantry and cavalry at Stone river on the 30th of December. On the morning of the 31st was overwhelmed in an exposed position on the right wing, and after a brief though stubborn resistance, the battery was captured, three killed, twenty wounded and twenty-five taken prisoners, including Captain Edgerton and Lieutenant Andrew Burwick. The men who were fortunate enough to escape were ordered to Nashville and assigned to duty on the siege pieces at Capitol hill on the 2d of January, 1863, and shortly afterwards were furnished with a new field battery. When Captain Edgerton returned from captivity, in June, the battery was incorporated into the reserve corps, commanded by General Gordon Granger, and during the battle of Chickamauga was held in reserve by General Morgan. Early in October two sections were dispatched from Stevenson, Alabama, to Shelbyville, Tennessee, to intercept the rebel General Wheeler, while the other section proceeded to Anderson's cross roads in the Sequatchie valley, to protect supply train

from guerrillas. A month later the battery was again united at the mouth of Battle creek, and stationed at Dallas, Tennessee, to assist in keeping open the line of communication between the armies of Thomas and Burnside. When General Sherman's forces crossed the Tennessee to assault Bragg's troops on Missionary Ridge, this battery, with others, was planted on the north bank of the river to cover the crossing. Subsequently it was attached to the reserve artillery and ordered to garrison Bridgeport, Alabama, where it remains at the present writing, May 10th, 1864.

#### TWENTIETH OHIO ARTILLERY.

This battery was raised under the President's call for troops in July, 1862. On the 21st of August, Louis Smithnight, of Cleveland, Ohio, was commissioned captain of artillery by Governor Tod, and empowered to recruit it. Previous to this, Lieutenant W. H. Hamilton had been recruiting for another battery, the Seventeenth Ohio, and was, by order of the Governor, transferred with his squad of twenty-three men to the Twentieth Ohio, and commissioned as first lieutenant in this organization. On the 15th of August, Lieutenant Frank O. Robbins, of the Fifteenth Ohio battery, then also in project, received a commission in this battery. A recruiting office was at once opened, and as it was announced by authority that it would be assigned to General Sigel's command, the Germans enlisted in it, and it was rapidly filled. On the 3d of September it numbered eighty men, and was ordered into camp at Cleveland. It was welcomed into camp by a salute from a rebel cannon captured in Western Virginia. A splendid supper was also given its members by the ladies of that city. Previous to going into camp, Henry Roth and Mathias Adams were commissioned for this battery, and its organization of officers was completed. In the latter part of September, Lieutenant Hamilton was relieved from command in the battery, by order of the Governor, and assigned elsewhere. On the 1st of October, Oscar Hancock was commissioned in his stead. It was mustered into the service on the 29th of October by Captain Goddard, U. S. A. During the month of November the battery received its guns, horses and

accoutrements, and after a period of instruction it was, on the 31st of December, ordered to Cincinnati. From there it proceeded to Covington, Kentucky, and thence, on the 4th of January, 1863, it started for Louisville on the steamer General Buell. Here it established Camp Smithnight. On the 6th of January the battery embarked on the steamer Diamond and Fort Wayne for Nashville, Tennessee, where it arrived on the 18th instant. It went into camp one mile southwest of this city, where it remained until the 26th of January, when it was ordered to the front—Murfreesboro—as the protection of a large train *en route* for that place. Here it was assigned to the second brigade, Colonel J. B. Dodge commanding. The men were much pleased with their assignment, and the kindness of Colonel Dodge soon won their friendship; but they felt grieved at what they considered the deception of Governor Tod and General Wright, who gave them every assurance that they would be assigned to Sigel's command. Application was made to General Rosecrans to have it transferred. He replied that it should be done as soon as the interest of the public service would admit of it. While here Captain Smithnight and Lieutenants Robbins resigned. On the 5th of June, Captain E. Grosekoppf, instructor in sapping and mining for the Army of the Cumberland, was appointed to this command. He was an old artillery officer, formerly of the Tenth Ohio Battery, and was in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth and Inka. Under the charge of different officers and the indifferent management which it had received, it had lost much of its efficiency and discipline; but Grosekoppf rapidly improved its condition, and made a highly creditable organization. It was of good material, but lacked that stamina which results from the command of officers worthy of their position. On the 10th of October it was assigned to the "Artillery Reserve" of the Army of the Cumberland, where it still remained at the last date received.




## SIXTH BRIGADE.

### FIFTEENTH OHIO INFANTRY.

This regiment was recruited in the counties of Belmont, Guernsey, Muskingum, Morrow, Richland, Wyandotte and Van Wert. It rendezvoused at "Camp Mordecai Bartley," Mansfield, Ohio, and was mustered into the service by Captain Belknap, of the Eighteenth United States Infantry. It started for the front on the 26th of September, 1861. At Cincinnati its arms and camp equipage were drawn, whereupon it crossed the Ohio river to Covington, Kentucky. Here it received a glorious welcome, accorded by the loyal people of that fine city to the troops who rushed to the defence of their State and good name. General Mitchell was then commanding at Cincinnati, and he ordered the regiment to report to General George H. Thomas, at Nicholasville, Kentucky. General Thomas replied that he did not need it at that point, and that it should remain at Lexington, where it then was, until further notice. General Mitchell then directed it to report at Louisville to General W. T. Sherman. By him it was assigned to General McCook's division. It arrived at Camp Nevin on the 11th of October, and was attached to the sixth brigade, General R. W. Johnson. Its original colonel and lieutenant-colonel both resigned, the first in October and the second in August, 1862. Major Wm. Wallace was then promoted colonel, Captain Frank Askew, of company E, lieutenant-colonel, and Captain John McClanahan, of company B, major of the regiment.

On the 10th of October, 1863, it was assigned to the **SECOND DIVISION**, fourth army corps. It participated in this command in the brilliant engagement at Mission Ridge, and constituted a portion of the forces which raised the siege of Knoxville. Early in 1864 the men re-enlisted as veterans; came home, enjoyed the thirty days furlough, and then returned to the front. Recently it has participated in the heavy skirmishing before Dalton, in the battle of



Resaca, and will, as ever before, sustain well its part in glorious campaign now progressing for the redemption of Georgia.

### THE FORTY-NINTH OHIO INFANTRY

Was recruited in the counties of Crawford, Hancock, Seneca, Sandusky and Wyandotte. It rendezvoused at Camp Noble, Tiffin, Ohio. Its organization was completed on the 5th of September. There is no data at hand to show when the regiment was mustered. It appears to have been mustered by companies from time to time. Company A was mustered on the 15th of August, 1861, by Lieutenant Anson Mills, of the Eighteenth United States Infantry. Just previous to leaving camp for the seat of war, a very interesting episode occurred. It was the christening of little ELLA, daughter of Colonel Gibson, as Daughter of the Regiment. The presentation speech was appropriately made by Captain Hays, of company H, and Colonel Gibson replied in a speech of touching eloquence. Lieutenant Blackman imprinted the kiss of consecration.

It left its rendezvous at Camp Noble on the 10th of September, and arrived at Camp Dennison, Cincinnati, on the 11th of that month, where it received arms and equipments. On the 20th of September it embarked on the cars for Western Virginia. After waiting an hour or so this order was countermanded, and the regiment directed to report to General Anderson, at Louisville, Kentucky, where it arrived on the 21st of September. Here a splendid ovation was accorded it by the citizens, and the officers dined with General Anderson. The hero of Sumter addressed the gallant men of the regiment in a neat speech of welcome, which was responded to by Colonel Gibson in his happiest vein. Thence it moved down to Shepherdsville, and thence to the Rolling Fork, where it joined the "Louisville Legion" and detachments of other troops under the command of the chivalrous Colonel Rousseau. The command moved on the 23d of September in company with Rousseau, wading the Rolling Fork waist-deep, and drove a small body of rebel troops from Elizabethtown, and the supperless, bivouacked for the night. On the 11th

October it moved to Nolin, and established Camp Nevin, and was here brigaded under General R. W. Johnson.

While encamped at Murfreesboro the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment presented Colonel Gibson with a magnificent sword and horse equipments. The presentation was made on the 24th of April, 1863, by private John Whistle, of company H, in a short but neat and appropriate speech, worthy of himself and the brave men whom he represented. It was accepted by Colonel Gibson, who replied in a speech of rare felicitousness and power. In addition to this, the officers of the brigade presented him with a splendid gold watch and chain, as a token of the esteem in which he was held as a brigade commander. Both were valuable presents, and made under circumstances which well might make a truly noble man proud of his co-patriots in arms.

Upon the reorganization of the Army of the Cumberland, this regiment, in common with the brigade, was transferred to the first brigade, third division, Fourth Army Corps. At Mission Ridge it behaved most gallantly, scaling the enemy's intrenchments and driving him from them. It then marched to the relief of our forces besieged at Knoxville. This accomplished, it re-enlisted as veterans, returned home, recruited its thinned ranks to the maximum number, and is again in the field dealing new blows against the rebellion. Its gallantry in the operations now impending in Georgia are worthy the honor and grateful applause of the republic.

Its original field officers were Colonel W. H. Gibson, Lieutenant-colonel A. M. Blackman, and Major Lewis Drake. Blackman resigned on the 30th of September, 1862. Drake was promoted lieutenant-colonel on the 1st of October, 1862, and killed in the action of Stone river on the 31st of December, 1862. He was a gallant officer, and his death was a serious loss to his regiment, the service and the country. Upon his death, Captain Samuel F. Gray, of company A, was promoted major; and again, upon the enlistment of the regiment as veterans, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Luther M. Strong, of company G, was promoted major. It is a noble regiment in officers and men as ever went forth to battle for freedom and for God.

## THIRTY-SECOND INDIANA INFANTRY.

This famous German regiment was recruited mostly from the counties of Dearborn, Floyd, Fort Wayne, Jefferson, Lake, Marion, Vigo and Wabash. It rendezvoused at "Camp Murphy," Indianapolis, and was mustered into the service on the 24th of August, 1861, by Lieutenant-colonel Thomas J. Wood, U. S. A. It left for Louisville on the 26th of September following. On the 4th of October it proceeded by railroad to New Haven, Kentucky. It remained here two weeks, when it was ordered to report at Camp Nevin. Companies I and K were left to protect the town, until relieved by the command of the noble and talented Colonel Curran Pope. They then reformed the regiment. At Nevin it was assigned to the sixth brigade of McCook's division.

On the 18th of July, 1862, Colonel Willich was promoted brigadier general, and on the 10th of August assigned command of the brigade. Lieutenant-colonel Von Trebra was then promoted to colonel, and Major Schnackenburg lieutenant-colonel. The majorship remained vacant for a time. Soon after leaving Louisville, in October, 1862, Colonel Von Trebra procured a sick-leave, proceeded to his home in Arcola, Illinois, and died there on the 6th of August, 1863. Lieutenant-colonel Schnackenburg resigned on the 26th of August, 1862, and Captain Erdelmeyer, of company A, was promoted to the vacancy. On the 17th of November, 1862, Captain Jacob Glass, of company B, was promoted major. Rowlett's, Shiloh, Corinth, Stone River, Liberty Gap and Chickamauga are among the names inscribed upon its banners—the achievements that honor the old SECOND DIVISION. After the reorganization came Mission Ridge, and then while gallantly charging the heights, amidst a withering fire of shot and shell, Major Glass fell—a noble officer, a thorough soldier and a serious loss to our service. The siege of Knoxville and the campaign of 1864, gives increased lustre to the glory of its deeds.

There is a nobility in the manner in which the German element of our land has rushed to the rescue of our institutions. Long inured to arms in the Fatherland, they at once lent to our cause most efficient service. And among the German regiments who have enlisted in our cause, none

has rendered more signal service or is more entitled to the nation's gratitude than the THIRTY-SECOND INDIANA.

### THIRTY-NINTH INDIANA INFANTRY.

Of the early history of this regiment the author knows but little, as all exertions to ascertain it elicited no response; it cannot, therefore, be given as fully as it should. It was brigaded in the sixth brigade of the SECOND DIVISION on the 18th of October, 1861.

The original field organization was: Thomas J. Harrison, colonel; F. W. Jones, lieutenant-colonel; John D. Evans, major. It remains still unchanged, so far as is known. It fought nobly at Shiloh and Stone River. Its officers are men of sound military capacity and conspicuous for gallantry. The service contains no nobler or more patriotic men. Shortly after the battle of Stone River it was converted into a mounted infantry force, and as such has rendered most efficient service, and endured hardships which foot infantry seldom encounter. It is armed with the repeating rifle, and at Chickamauga dealt death into the enemy's ranks with frightful energy. At other times it is engaged in scouting, in making raids, keeping open communications and in carrier duty. It is one of the most valuable arms of our service, and constitutes the nucleus around which should gather a powerful force, that would be capable of inflicting terrible blows upon our foes and cause them to feel and dread the strength of our embattled hosts. The army is sadly deficient in this special arm, and its energies are crippled in consequence of it.

### THE EIGHTY-NINTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY

Was organized at Chicago, Ill., under the auspices of the several railroad companies centering in that city. Hence its cognomen—the "Railroad Regiment." It was organized on the 25th of August, 1862, and elected for its colonel Captain John Christopher, of the Sixteenth United States Infantry; Charles T. Hotchkiss, lieutenant colonel, and Duncan J. Hall, major. The companies came from



along the lines of railroads centering in Chicago, viz: Burlington and Quincy, Galena and Chicago, Chicago and Milwaukee, Illinois Central and Dixon Air Line, principally. The regiment was organized with nine companies only. On the 4th of September, 1862, it started for Louisville, camped there for some time, and after being brigaded in the command of General Woodruff, was finally attached to the sixth brigade, SECOND DIVISION, Fourteenth Army Corps. The regiment started October 5th 1862, with the brigade and division in pursuit of Bragg, and after a fruitless and toilsome march of nearly a month, finally reached Bowling Green, Kentucky. At this point, the tenth company joined the regiment, November 1, 1862.

This command is composed of men of culture, intelligence and refinement, more so, perhaps, than the great majority of regiments in the field. Its members are nearly all artisans, and scarcely is any service to be performed in the army but this regiment can furnish the requisite mechanical genius and skill. This is true to a great extent of all our Northern commands, but the Eighty-Ninth is pre-eminent in this respect. Although in the service but about four months, still the battle of Stone River, with its tide of crimson gore, did not tarnish the good name it had already acquired, or disparage the expectations of its friends. It did well, and among the heroes who that day died in Liberty's cause was Captain Henry S. Willett, of company H. On the 7th of January, 1863, Colonel Christopher, who had never joined the regiment, resigned. The line of promotion that ensued made Captain Wm. D. Williams, of company F, major. At Liberty Gap another brave officer fell—Captain H. M. Blake, of company K. Chicamauga seemed to affix the seal of its devotion. There fell Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan J. Hall, Captains Rice, Spink and Whiting, and Lieutenants Adams and Ellis, besides the scores of brave men who fought with noble heroism, and who dared "to do and die" in defence of the "old flag." Upon its reorganization it accompanied Willich's command to its new position in the Fourth Army Corps, and at Mission Ridge again encountered the foe. Since then it has been with the brigade in its marches through East Tennessee, and ready for the campaign which has already added glory to our arms by the victories at Buzzard's Roost, Dalton and Resaca.

**BATTERY A, FIRST OHIO LIGHT ARTILLERY.**

This battery was first organized by Captain Charles S. Cotter, for the three months' service. Immediately on the call of the President for 75,000 volunteers, Captain Cotter called a war meeting, to secure volunteers for the field at once. He had previously been in command of a gun-detachment, and at this meeting secured the enlistment of seventeen of his old squad. The result of the meeting was quite satisfactory, and he telegraphed to Adjutant-General Carrington that he was ready to take the field, as his men were drilled and equipped. He was ordered to report at "Camp Taylor," Cleveland, Ohio, which he did on the 25th of April, 1861. Here he remained until the last of May, when his company was disbanded. He then proceeded to Columbus and received authority to recruit a battery, and hastened to accomplish it. On the 9th of June his men were recalled and proceeded to "Camp Chase," Columbus, Ohio. In the last of June his command was joined by another similar detachment from Canton, Stark county. Cotter was then commissioned as captain, and took command of the section which he possessed. On the 2d of July that command was mustered into the service of the State for three years, and the men received their uniforms.

On the 3d of July it proceeded to Gallipolis, Ohio, where it was assigned, on the 10th of July, to the command of Brigadier General Cox. This command shortly after proceeded up the Kanawha river, in Western Virginia, and on the 17th of July participated in the battle of Scarey Creek, where the enemy had four guns in action against Cotter's section; but he silenced them all in firing eight rounds, disabling three of them. At Tyler's Mountain, on the 22d of July, 1861, Captain Cotter fired into and sunk the rebel supply steamer Julia Moffit. On arriving at Charleston, Virginia, two more guns were received for the battery, which had been forwarded from Gallipolis, Ohio. These, with two of the rebel guns which he had disabled and captured at Scarey Creek, made a full battery of six guns. To organize and equip this battery was the next and a difficult task. Horses were drawn from the ambulances, tugs were made from the picket rope, and saddles manufactured out of forked sticks and blankets. Men to

man the battery were detailed by General Cox from the Second Kentucky Infantry. From Charleston it proceeded to Gauley Bridge in pursuit of the rebel General Wise. Up to this time but one man was lost from the command. He was wounded in the hip by a six-pound solid-shot at Scarey Creek, and died shortly after. His name was John Haven, and he resided in Shailersville, Ohio. On the 27th of July Captain Cotter was ordered to Ohio to procure equipments for his battery, and while home he was authorized to raise a battery for three years for the United States service. On the 13th of August he repaired to Camp Chase with seventy-five men for his new organization, and on the 14th instant he proceeded to Gauley Bridge to withdraw his old command; but owing to the necessity for artillery at that point, General Cox retained all but his original squad of twenty-five men with which he returned to Camp Chase. On the 6th of September, 1861, his new organization, consisting of ninety-three men, was mustered into the United States service for three years, by Captain Stansbury, United States Army. On the 25th of September it was ordered to Louisville. At Cincinnati the horses were received. Arrived at Louisville, it established camp. Here, after several days of continued exertion, the guns and carriages were received. Cotter then proceeded to Ohio and procured the battery wagons, forage wagons, harness and other equipments. The battery was then ordered to report to General McCook, at Camp Nevin, Kentucky. In action it was assigned to the sixth brigade. At Rowlett's, the siege of Corinth, and the other engagements of the division, it rendered excellent service. On the 16th of December, 1861, while encamped at Green river, the ladies of Louisville presented the battery with a beautiful silken stand of colors. Mr. Judd, of the Louisville House, in presenting it, remarked "that the colors were presented to the battery by the ladies of Louisville as a token of respect for the gentlemanly deportment of the men while encamped near their city."

On the 9th of June Captain Cotter was promoted to major of the First Ohio Artillery, and Lieutenant W. F. Goodspeed was promoted captain. Upon the reorganization of the army, October 10th, 1863, it was assigned to the artillery reserve, and shortly went up the Tennessee river and had a spirited skirmish with the enemy at

Blythe's Ferry, losing one man. From there it proceeded to Knoxville, and thence to Strawberry Plains. It had several skirmishes while here, but lost no men. Here it re-enlisted on the 1st of January, 1864, and started for home, crossing the Cumberland Mountains, and arrived home on the 5th of February. Its furlough out, it returned to Nashville, Tennessee, and upon the commencement of the great campaign by General Sherman, was ordered to the front, where it awaits active operations.

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## SEVENTH BRIGADE.

### FIRST WISCONSIN INFANTRY.

Among the many gallant regiments which the "Badger State" has furnished for the defence of the National life, none have seen more fatiguing service, marched greater distances, fought in more sanguinary battles, or displayed more heroism, than the famous First Wisconsin Infantry. When the National flag was humbled at Sumter, every lover of freedom felt the insult to be personally directed, and with one impulse the people were aroused to arms, and the land resounded with the cry—"ON TO THE WAR!" On the 17th of April, 1861, John C. Starkweather, a citizen of Milwaukee, was commissioned by Governor Randall as colonel of the First Regiment Wisconsin State Active Militia. Her call for troops was made, and the sons of the State flocked to the standard raised. It was mustered into the United States service for three months, on the 17th of May, and on the 7th of June was ordered to move. It proceeded to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and was assigned to the fifth brigade, Brigadier General James S. Negley, SECOND DIVISION, Major General Wm. H. Kline. On the

22d of the same month it was transferred to the sixth brigade, Colonel J. J. Abercrombie, Seventh United States Infantry.

On the 2d of July the regiment crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, and fought its first battle—FALLING WATER where the famous rebel General Stonewall Jackson was defeated and driven from the field. In this affair the regiment suffered slightly for the fire to which it was subjected, losing but one killed, five wounded and one taken prisoner. The citizens of Martinsburg were overjoyed at this success and presented the regiment with a stand of colors for its gallantry on that occasion. The regiment moved with the army to Winchester and retired with it to Harper's Ferry. On the 29th of July it made a reconnaissance to Edwards Ferry, during which the Colonel had his horse shot, but shot the rebel who killed him. On the 5th of August it was reported that the rebel pickets in front of Harper's Ferry had withdrawn, and three men of the regiment were sent across the river to examine the country, streams, fords and the position occupied by the enemy. They were attacked suddenly by twelve of the enemy. A battle was at once waged between the combatants, in which three of the rebels were killed and seven wounded. Our loss was one wounded. This little affair has been seldom excelled in brilliancy during the annals of the war.

On the 12th of August the regiment was ordered by Major General Banks to Wisconsin for muster out, which event occurred on the 20th instant. The next day Starkweather was re-commissioned as colonel of the same regiment, and at once proceeded to re-organize it, by virtue of a special order from the War Department. Its regimental field organization, upon being mustered into the three years' service, on the 8th of October, was J. C. Starkweather, colonel; D. H. Lane, lieutenant-colonel; George B. Bingham, major. On the 27th of October it was ordered to report to General W. T. Sherman, at Louisville, Kentucky. For a time it was encamped at Jeffersonville, Indiana; but on the 16th of November it moved to the mouth of Salt river; thence, on the 3d of December, to Elizabethtown. The next day it reported to Brigadier General James S. Negley, being assigned to his brigade, (the seventh) of General McCook's division. Its history while in the SECOND DIVISION is fully recorded in the text.

Upon the re-organization of the army, it was assigned to the third brigade, second division, Fourteenth Army Corps.

During the battles of Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge it was stationed behind the rifle pits at Chattanooga. Since that time it has been with that division in its movements, and is now engaged in the great campaign pending in Northern Georgia. In September, 1862, Lieutenant-colonel Lane resigned, and Major Bingham was promoted to the vacancy; Captain Henry A. Mitchell, of company B, was promoted major. On the 17th of July, 1863, Colonel Starkweather was appointed brigadier general of volunteers—a promotion he had well earned.

The regiment has been engaged in bloody conflicts, and where the battle has raged fiercest, there has been raised its colors. At Chaplin Hills it lost in killed and wounded fifty per cent. of the number engaged; at Chickamauga, it lost sixty-nine per cent. of the force engaged. After the battle of Chaplin Hills the regiment was presented with a full complement of colors and guidons by Indiana troops, for the daring bravery it displayed in saving the Fourth Indiana Battery—it having drawn off by hand all the guns and caissons. It also saved three guns of the First Kentucky Battery.

In January, 1863, while the army lay at Murfreesboro, the old colors of the regiment were returned to the State, accompanied with the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE (FORMERLY FIRST,  
FIRST DIVISION (FORMERLY THIRD),  
CENTRE FOURTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }  
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE, JANUARY 19, 1863.

HONORABLE E. SALOMON, GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN:

SIR:—Allow me, in behalf of the First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, to present through you to the State which I have had the honor humbly to represent, the flag of our Union, which was presented by the State, through the Honorable A. W. Randall, Ex-Governor of the State, to the regiment a short time prior to its leaving for Kentucky, and which, on bended knees, it swore to protect and preserve against the enemies of this great and glorious government. Please us by having it placed where it may be preserved, and where it may continue to shed forth the bright lustre of victory. It is tattered and torn, battle-stained and worn; but it shows forth most emphatically the proud deeds done, and the great honor and the glory gained and won by the sons of Wisconsin, who went forth to battle, as has been seen, *only for victory.*

I am, with respect, yours, truly,

JOHN C. STARKWEATHER,  
Colonel First Wisconsin, Commanding Third Brigade.

Its term of service expires during the present summer when what remains of it—few but faithful soldiers—will be mustered out, and once more be permitted to enjoy the society of home and loved ones. Its career has been a noble one, and its monument of sacrifice will be as enduring as the scroll of time. But peace will yet relume the land with its generous heaven-descended smiles and blessings! Yes,—

“Too long, at clash of arms amid her bowers,  
And pools of blood, the earth has stood aghast;  
The fair earth, that should only blush with flowers  
And ruddy fruits. But not for aye can last  
The storm, and sweet the sunshine when 'tis past.  
Lo! the clouds roll away—they break—they fly—  
And, like the glorious light of summer, cast  
O'er the wide landscape, from the embracing sky,  
On all the peaceful world the smile of heaven shall lie.”

### THIRTY-EIGHTH INDIANA INFANTRY.

This regiment, like the Sixth Indiana, was of the first to rally to Kentucky's defence, and, under the gallant Rousseau, advance to meet the rebel Buckner in his first invasion of her soil. It consists of companies raised in the counties of Clark, Crawford, Floyd, Harrison, Monroe, Orange, Scott and Washington. It was mustered into the United States service with eight hundred and fifty-seven officers and enlisted men, on the 18th day of September, 1861, by Captain J. H. Gilman, of the Nineteenth United States Infantry. Its original field organization was Benjamin F. Scribner, colonel; Walter Q. Gresham, lieutenant-colonel; James B. Meriwether, major.

It was hardly mustered into service before it received orders from General Anderson to come to Kentucky. The regiment was without guns, cartridge-boxes, knapsacks or haversacks. After the greatest exertions the men were supplied with muskets and knapsacks, and started for the front. Upon arriving at Louisville they were supplied with cartridge-boxes and belts. At about 12 o'clock that night, the 20th of September, the regiment started for Lebanon. Here haversacks and canteens were issued. It then crossed the Rolling Fork, wading that stream waist deep, and marching eighteen miles, joining Rousseau's

gallant command. On the 1st of October it advanced with the rest of the troops to Camp Nevin, and on the 18th of October was assigned to the fifth brigade of the Second Division. Upon the re-organization of the division on the 3d of December following, it was transferred to the seventh brigade, General James S. Negley. On the 16th of March, 1862, this regiment, in common with the brigade, was detached from the division, and entered upon a separate but important mission.

On the 22d of February, 1862, Lieutenant-colonel Gresham was appointed to the colonelcy of the Fifty-third Indiana Infantry, and subsequently brigadier general of volunteers. Major Meriwether was appointed to the vacancy; Adjutant Daniel F. Griffin was appointed major, and Sergeant-major George H. Devol was promoted to adjutant. On the 3d of September, 1862, Lieutenant-colonel Meriwether resigned, and Major Griffin was promoted to the vacancy. Captain John B. Glover, of company D, was appointed major. During September, 1863, Major Glover resigned, and Captain Wm. L. Caster, of company E, was promoted to the vacancy.

The 4th of December, 1862, was an interesting day to the gallant boys of the regiment. Their colors had been tattered and torn by the balls of the enemy in the fierce conflict of Chaplin Hills; and the citizens of New Albany, Indiana, to prove their gratitude for the noble service they had rendered their State and country, presented them with a beautiful stand of colors to replace the older ones now so replete with historic associations. The glory it won at Chaplin Hills is deepened with the sadness of thousands of hearts, for its blood crimsoned that carnage field. Twenty-seven were killed, one hundred and twenty-five wounded, and seven taken prisoners. At Stone River, too, it stemmed the surging billow of deadly strife, and its heroism was there attested in the fall of sixteen more comrades, besides eighty-four wounded, many mortally. Again at Chickamauga its loss was one hundred and ten in killed, wounded and missing.

In generous rivalry with other comrades in arms, the regiment re-enlisted in the latter part of December, 1863, and early in January, 1864, returned home on furlough, where it was greeted with the enthusiasm due to patriotic service. It is now in the front, and has actively partici-



pated in the great campaign being waged by General Sherman in Northern and Central Georgia.

## SEVENTY EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY

The Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry was organized by Colonel William Sirwell, at Camp Orr, near Kettanning, Pennsylvania, in September, 1861, under authority granted him by the Secretary of War. The companies comprising the regiment are from the counties of Armstrong, Butler, Clarion and Indiana. It was mustered in the service of the United States, at Camp Orr, on the 12th of October, 1861, by Captain H. B. Hays, of the regular army. On the 14th of October, 1861, it left its rendezvous at Camp Orr, and reported to Brigadier General Negley at Camp Wilkins, near Pittsburgh. On the 18th of October it embarked with Negley's brigade on steamboats, and arrived at Louisville, Kentucky, on the evening of the 21st. On the 24th it was moved to Camp Nevin, and reported to General A. McD. McCook, who was then organizing his division. The regiment still remained with Negley's command, which was entitled the seventh brigade. When the SECOND DIVISION moved forward to Shiloh, Negley's brigade was detached, and during the balance of the summer it did guard duty on the Tennessee and Alabama railroad, and scouted through the country, driving guerrillas out of infected districts. During the summer it garrisoned and did provost guard duty at Franklin, Columbia, Pulaski, Tennessee, and at Rogersville, Alabama. Near the latter place it drove Scott's rebel cavalry from Lamb's Ferry.

When the Army of the Ohio fell back to Louisville, the Seventy-eighth proceeded to Nashville, arriving there on the 2d of September, 1862. During the memorable blockade of Nashville, in the fall of 1862, it was in the brigade of Colonel John F. Miller, participated in several skirmishes and had quite a severe engagement at Lavergne, in which the regiment captured the Thirty-second Alabama, commanded by Colonel Maury. It was engaged in the battle of Stone River, and led the charge across that stream against Breckinridge's division, driving the rebels from their position on the east bank of the river and capturing the colors of one regiment. For gallantry at Stone River General

Rosecrans gave to the Seventy-eighth the honor of first entering Murfreesboro, and at once established Colonel Sirwell as provost marshal and the regiment as provost guards of that town. It remained on this duty until a short time previous to the movement on Tullahoma.

On the 19th of June Colonel Sirwell was assigned the command of the third brigade, second division, Fourteenth Army Corps, and remained in command of that brigade until the 17th of November, 1863, when he resigned, in consequence of ill health, and left the service. From the 19th of June, 1863, to the spring of 1864, the regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Archibald Blakeley. In the campaign against Tullahoma it participated in the skirmishes at Hoover's Gap and Elk River. On the 16th of August the march was resumed, which terminated in the occupation of Chattanooga. On the 10th and 11th of September it engaged the enemy at Dog Gap, and shortly after was in the glorious battle of Chickamauga. In the reorganization of the army after it arrived at Chattanooga it was assigned to the brigade of General Starkweather (third), of the first division (Johnson's), Fourteenth Army Corps.

This regiment has rendered most efficient service in the war of the rebellion. The blood of its gallant officers and soldiers crimson battle fields which shall ever be cherished by the Republic with tearful pride and grateful heart. Tunnel Hill, Reseca and other fields, rendered memorable in the great campaign of General Sherman, still pending, also shed a halo of glory over the name of this noble command.

#### SEVENTY-NINTH PENNSYLVANIA INFANTRY.

On the call of the President for three years' troops, Lancaster county, the "Old Guard" of Pennsylvania, determined to do her duty to the country, and H. A. Hambright, a captain in the regular army, and a most excellent officer, was commissioned by the War Department to recruit a regiment for its service. Recruiting commenced in August, and by the 8th of October the last company was on its way to the rendezvous. It comes, we believe, entirely from Lancaster county, with the exception of one company which hails from Washington county. It was organized at Pittsburgh, on the 18th of October, 1861, and embarked with

Negley's famous brigade on steamers for Louisville. Its history from this time until it was detached from the Second Division is fully recorded in the text. While the division lay at Nolin, General Negley presented it with a beautiful stand of colors. On the 29th of March, 1862, Negley's brigade moved to Columbia, Tennessee. On the 10th of May it started on an expedition to Rogersville and Florence, Alabama. At Rogersville it encountered the enemy under General Adams, and drove him beyond the Tennessee river at Lamb's Ferry, without the loss of a man, the enemy losing many. On the 29th of the same month it started on an expedition to East Tennessee. During this expedition it engaged the enemy twice on the 4th of June at Sweeden's Cove, and on the 7th before Chattanooga. On the 17th of July the regiment was relieved from the seventh brigade under General Negley, and remained unattached until the 3d of September, when it was assigned to the twenty-eighth brigade, General (then Colonel) John C. Starkweather commanding. From the 12th of June until the 9th of July the regiment was stationed at Shelbyville, Tennessee, a beautiful town, whose people are devotedly loyal, and on the 4th of July they complimented the gallant men of the Seventy-ninth with a bounteous and splendid dinner. Beautiful ladies enlivened it with their grace and smiles. Leaving here, it performed guard duty and rendered other important service at War Trace, Manchester, Tullahoma and Gallatin. When the army retreated to Louisville it accompanied Starkweather's brigade and participated gloriously in the battle of Chaplin Hills. The loss of this gallant command was thirty-seven killed and forty-nine wounded—a total of one hundred and eighty-six.

A few days before the battle of Stone River the entire brigade, under General Starkweather, was ordered on an expedition to Jefferson, where it engaged a brigade of rebel cavalry, killing and wounding eighty-three, sustaining a loss of only one killed and one wounded. At the battle before Murfreesboro the regiment occupied the rifle pits and supported a battery on the right centre in the advance for forty-eight hours in succession. It shared the hardship and vicissitudes of that memorable battle-field, and aided in driving the enemy from his works.

On the 20th of April, 1863, it moved with the expedition under General Reynolds to McMinnville, destroying a large

cotton mill which the rebels had in successful operation, some two hundred bales of cotton, and a large quantity of bacon. While at Murfreesboro, the citizens of Lancaster and Coventry delegated a committee of her citizens to present to the Seventy-ninth a complete set of colors—national, regimental and guide—"as a testimonial of their high appreciation of its soldierly conduct, heroic deeds and devotion to the Union." The presentation address was read by Lewis Haldy, Esq., on behalf of the committee. It was eloquently responded to by Colonel Hambright, in a speech fervid with patriotism and ringing with the mettle of the true soldier. The day was one of jubilee. While here the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment also purchased a magnificent sword and accompaniments for Colonel Hambright. The inscription on the scabbard is: "Presented to Colonel H. A. Hambright, by the non-commissioned officers and privates of his regiment, as a testimonial of their esteem for gallant conduct at the battles of Chaplin Hills, Kentucky, October 8th, 1862, and Stone River, January 2d and 3d, 1863." This presentation was made by E. K. Martin, of company E, in a neat and well delivered speech. The response was noble and worthy the reputation of the colonel. In the Tullahoma campaign the regiment fought at Hoover's Gap, sustaining a loss of fifteen wounded. At Chickamauga it displayed magnificent bravery, and fought with the determined obstinacy of Napoleon's veterans—the heroes of Austerlitz and Eylau. Its loss was seventeen killed and seventy-two wounded, besides forty-four taken prisoners.

Upon the reorganization of the army it suffered no change in its brigade and division organization. In the subsequent brilliant campaigns of that army it has borne a conspicuous part, and has, as it ever will continue to do, reflected a noble pride upon the glorious reputation of the old "Keystone" State.

## REPORT OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

IN THE SECOND DIVISION IN THE ACTION OF APRIL 7TH, 1862  
AT PITTSBURG LANDING, TENNESSEE.

COMMANDS.	OFFICERS.		NON-COM. OFFICERS.		PRIVATE.		TOTAL.	
	Killed.....	Wounded..	Killed.....	Wounded..	Killed.....	Wounded..	Killed.....	Wounded..
FOURTH BRIGADE.								
1st Ohio Vol.....	.....	2	.....	3	2	41	2	46
5th Kentucky Vol.....	.....	.....	1	8	6	48	7	56
6th Indiana Vol.....	.....	1	.....	1	4	35	4	37
15th U. S. Infantry.....	.....	3	1	4	3	50	4	57
16th U. S. Infantry.....	2	1	1	5	3	44	6	50
19th U. S. Infantry.....	.....	2	2	11	3	19	5	32
Bat. H, 5th U. S. Artillery..	.....	.....	.....	2	2	10	2	12
FIFTH BRIGADE.								
29th Indiana Vol.....	.....	4	.....	23	4	38	4	65
30th Indiana Vol.....	.....	7	2	13	16	87	18	107
34th Illinois Vol.....	1	7	2	25	12	55	15	87
77th Pennsylvania Vol.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	7	1	7
SIXTH BRIGADE.								
15th Ohio Vol.....	.....	.....	2	12	6	46	8	58
49th Ohio Vol.....	.....	.....	1	3	4	13	5	16
32d Indiana Vol.....	2	3	2	20	11	43	15	66
39th Indiana Vol.....	1	1	.....	8	1	25	2	34
Total.....	6	31	14	138	78	561	98	730

## REPORT OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

IN THE SECOND DIVISION DURING THE ENGAGEMENT BEFORE  
MURFREESBORO, FROM DECEMBER 26TH, 1862, UNTIL JAN-  
UARY 6TH, 1863.

COMMANDS.	OFFICERS.		NON-COM. OFFICERS.		PRIVATE.		TOTAL.		Aggregate.
	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	
FIRST BRIGADE.									
15th Ohio Vol.....	...	4	3	13	17	79	20	96	116
49th Ohio Vol.....	1	2	4	15	10	60	15	77	92
32d Indiana Vol.....	...	...	3	9	8	33	11	42	53
39th Indiana Vol.....	...	1	4	14	26	92	30	107	137
89th Illinois Vol.....	1	1	1	3	8	41	10	45	55
Bat. A, 1st Ohio Vol. Art..	.....	.....	.....	1	1	4	1	5	6
SECOND BRIGADE.									
29th Indiana Vol.....	1	2	4	13	9	37	14	52	66
30th Indiana Vol.....	1	2	9	22	18	84	28	108	136
34th Illinois Vol.....	2	2	7	25	12	70	21	97	118
79th Illinois Vol.....	1	3	4	10	22	55	27	68	95
77th Pennsylvania Vol....	.....	2	.....	5	4	22	4	29	33
Bat. E, 1st Ohio Vol. Art..	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	14	2	14	16
THIRD BRIGADE.									
1st Ohio Vol.....	.....	1	1	7	7	32	8	40	48
93d Ohio Vol.....	...	4	5	12	7	28	12	44	56
5th Kentucky Vol.....	1	5	9	14	8	60	18	79	97
6th Indiana Vol.....	.....	1	3	4	12	46	15	51	66
5th Indiana Bat.....	.....	1	1	2	2	5	3	8	11
Total.....	8	31	58	169	173	762	239	962	1201

## REPORT OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

IN THE SECOND DIVISION IN THE ACTION OF LIBERTY GAP, JUN  
24TH AND 25TH, 1863.

COMMANDS.	OFFICERS.		NON-COM. OFFICERS.		PRIVATES.		TOTAL.		Aggregate.
	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	
FIRST BRIGADE.									
15th Ohio Vol.....	1	1	1	5	6	18	8	24	3
49th Ohio Vol.....	1	...	1	1	...	15	2	16	1
32d Indiana Vol.....	...	...	...	3	7	14	7	17	2
39th Indiana Vol.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
89th Illinois Vol.....	1	...	2	5	...	6	3	11	1
Bat. A, 1st Ohio Vol. Art.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SECOND BRIGADE.									
29th Indiana Vol.....	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	5	...
30th Indiana Vol.....	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
34th Illinois Vol.....	1	1	...	10	2	11	3	22	2
79th Illinois Vol.....	1	5	1	20	4	16	6	41	4
77th Pennsylvania Vol.....	1	2	...	10	3	21	4	33	3
20th Ohio Independ't Bat.....	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Total .....	6	10	6	54	22	106	34	170	20

There were a few casualties in the third brigade—some half dozen perhaps, and principally, if not all, in the Louisville Legion—but the data has never been furnished.

## REPORT OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

IN THE SECOND DIVISION IN THE ACTION OF CHICKAMAUGA,  
GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER 19TH AND 20TH, 1863.

COMMANDS.	OFFICERS.		NON-COM. OFFICERS.		PRIVATES.		TOTAL.		Aggregate.
	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	Killed....	Wounded..	
FIRST BRIGADE.									
15th Ohio Vol.....	1	2	1	19	8	54	10	75	85
49th Ohio Vol.....		2	1	23	6	63	7	88	95
32d Indiana Vol.....	1	4	7	15	12	57	20	76	96
*39th Indiana Vol.....									
89th Illinois Vol.....	4	4	2	8	4	49	10	61	71
Bat. A, 1st Ohio Vol. Art..		1	1	5	1	8	2	14	16
SECOND BRIGADE.									
29th Indiana Vol.....	2	5	1	23	8	65	11	93	104
30th Indiana Vol.....	1	6	1	14	6	37	8	57	65
79th Illinois Vol.....				5	4	8	4	13	17
77th Pennsylvania Vol....		3		3	3	19	3	25	28
20th Ohio Independ't Bat..				1		1		2	2
† THIRD BRIGADE.									
1st Ohio Vol.....		2	3	12	3	41	6	55	61
93d Ohio Vol.....		4	1	28	11	56	12	88	100
5th Kentucky Vol.....	3	7	4	19	10	79	17	105	122
6th Indiana Vol.....	2	6	1	31	9	77	12	114	126
5th Indiana Battery.....						5		5	5
Total.....	14	46	23	206	85	619	122	871	993

\* The Thirty-ninth Indiana was in the fight, but no list of casualties could be obtained. They exceeded one hundred.

† The tabular history of the third brigade is compiled from the lists of casualties in the papers, and therefore may be slightly inaccurate.



## A TABULAR HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION A

COMMANDS.	OFFICERS.										
	No. Date of Muster.	No. since Commissioned.	No. Rec'd by Transfer.	TOTAL.	No. Killed in Action.	No. Died of Wounds.	No. Died of Disease.	No. Transferred.	No. Resigned.	No. Discharged.	TOTAL.
<b>FIRST BRIGADE.</b> (Old Sixth.)											
15th Ohio Vols.....	38	22	16	76	3	...	1	12	25	1	43
49th Ohio Vols.....	37	20	12	69	3	1	...	17	15	2	39
32d Indiana Vols.....	38	23	17	78	6	...	1	14	36	...	57
89th Illinois Vols....	38	7	2	48	6	1	1	3	10	...	22
Battery A, 1st Ohio...	5	4	...	9	...	...	...	...	3	...	3
<b>SECOND BRIGADE.</b> (Old Fifth.)											
29th Indiana Vols....	38	19	8	65	3	...	3	6	24	...	39
30th Indiana Vols....	38	30	7	75	3	1	1	2	29	2	43
34th Illinois Vols....	37	29	7	73	4	2	1	7	27	...	41
79th Illinois Vols....	37	15	4	56	2	2	...	2	17	...	27
77th Penn'a Vols....	32	17	6	55	1	1	...	5	16	3	29
26th Penn'a Battery..	5	1	...	6	1	...	...	...	1	...	2
Bat. A 1st Ky. Art...	4	3	...	7	...	...	...	...	2	...	3
Bat. E 1st Ohio Art...	5	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
20th Ohio Battery....	5	4	1	10	...	...	...	...	3	...	5
<b>THIRD BRIGADE.</b> (Old Fourth.)											
1st Bat. 16th U. S. I..	11	6	19	36	1	1	...	17	4	1	25
1st Bat. 19th U. S. I..	19	4	8	33	2	...	1	9	1	...	15
Bat. H, 5th U. S. Art.	5	3	...	8	1	...	...	3	...	...	4
5th Indiana Battery...	5	2	...	7	...	...	...	...	3	...	3
<b>SEVENTH BRIGADE.</b>											
1st Wisconsin Vols...	39	15	7	61	4	1	1	9	15	1	31
38th Indiana Vols....	37	24	2	63	2	1	...	3	24	...	31
78th Penn'a Vols....	33	24	1	58	1	1	2	3	13	1	22
79th Penn'a Vols....	36	21	4	61	3	...	1	8	16	1	30
<b>TOTAL, .....</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>295</b>

The table of the battalion of the Sixteenth United States Infantry consists of the field staff and non-commissioned staff, and companies A, D, F and H; that of the battalion of the Nineteenth Infantry of the field staff, non-commissioned staff, and companies A, B, C, D, E, F, G and I. Forms were furnished for the First and Ninety-third Ohio, the Fif

## CHANGES IN COMMANDS OF THE SECOND DIVISION.

ENLISTED MEN.													
Enlisted Men at date of Muster.	No. Recruits.	No. Rec'd by Transfer.	TOTAL.	No. Killed in Action.	No. Died of Wounds.	No. Died of Disease.	No. Discharged.	No. Transferred.	No. Commissioned.	No. dropped from Rolls as Missing.	No. Deserters.	TOTAL.	Strength Oct. 10, 1863.
959	122	10	1091	47	32	59	227	24	25	1	14	429	662
837	277	78	1192	31	34	82	251	103	20	0	35	560	632
885	283	22	1190	65	29	42	219	41	28	....	115	539	651
874	113	2	989	35	24	47	127	9	7	....	40	289	700
150	52	....	202	5	7	12	35	1	1	....	4	65	137
917	157	27	1101	30	18	102	281	31	22	68	60	612	489
968	181	5	1154	55	19	134	235	6	28	58	43	578	576
820	79	11	910	36	36	67	206	22	26	....	23	416	494
930	1	4	935	35	16	140	166	18	14	2	2	393	542
717	68	12	797	9	3	55	158	37	21	69	93	445	352
151	4	....	155	2	....	7	8	....	1	....	19	37	118
100	39	1	140	3	1	8	18	2	3	....	32	67	73
123	69	....	192	3	2	21	43	1	1	....	1	72	120
147	3	....	150	1	....	6	12	3	4	....	10	36	114
387	135	76	598	20	25	22	57	36	10	130	77	377	221
560	22	66	648	13	8	41	83	56	5	95	119	367	281
147	39	....	186	13	2	6	20	1	2	12	31	87	99
151	19	....	170	5	1	21	12	2	2	1	13	57	113
907	73	15	995	79	32	73	263	24	29	59	50	609	386
820	206	12	1038	47	36	140	252	26	22	7	13	543	495
928	142	2	1072	22	31	115	103	41	15	9	8	344	728
954	49	8	1011	54	19	59	191	23	22	30	39	437	574
13432	2133	351	15916	610	375	1259	2967	507	308	541	841	7359	8557

Kentucky and Sixth Indiana; but they were never attended to. This will account for the lack of a tabular history in these regiments. Their aggregate strength on the 10th of October, 1863, was 1912 officers and men—making the grand strength of what constituted the division 10,469. Their original strength is unknown.









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